Eliz: Moyr
Her Book

Mrs. Richd. Tudd. Coe

A

The Explanation of the Embleme.

POnderibus genus omne mali, probriq; gravatus
Vixi; ferenda ferens palma ut depressa, resurgo.

Ac, velut undarum fluctus ventique furorem
Irati populi rupes immota repello.

Clarior e tenebris, cœlestis stella, coruſco.
Victor & æternum felici pace triumpho.

Auro ſplendentem rutilo, gemmiſque decoram,
At curis gravidam ſpernendo calco coronam.

Spinoſam, at ferri facilem, quo ſpns mea, Chriſti
Auxilio, Nobis vera eſt tractare voluptas.

Æternam, fixis fidei ſemperque beatam,
In cœlos oculis ſpecto, Nobiſque paratam.

Quod *vanum* eſt ſperno, quod Chriſti *Gratia* præbet
Amplecti ſtudium eſt: virtutis *Gloria* merces.

THough clogg'd with weights of miſeries,
As Palm depreſs'd, I higher riſe.

And as th'unmoved Rock out braves
The boiſtrous winds, and raging waves:

So triumph I. And In dark Night
Of ſad afflictions ſhine more bright.

That ſplendid, but yet toilſom Crown
Regardleſly I trample down.

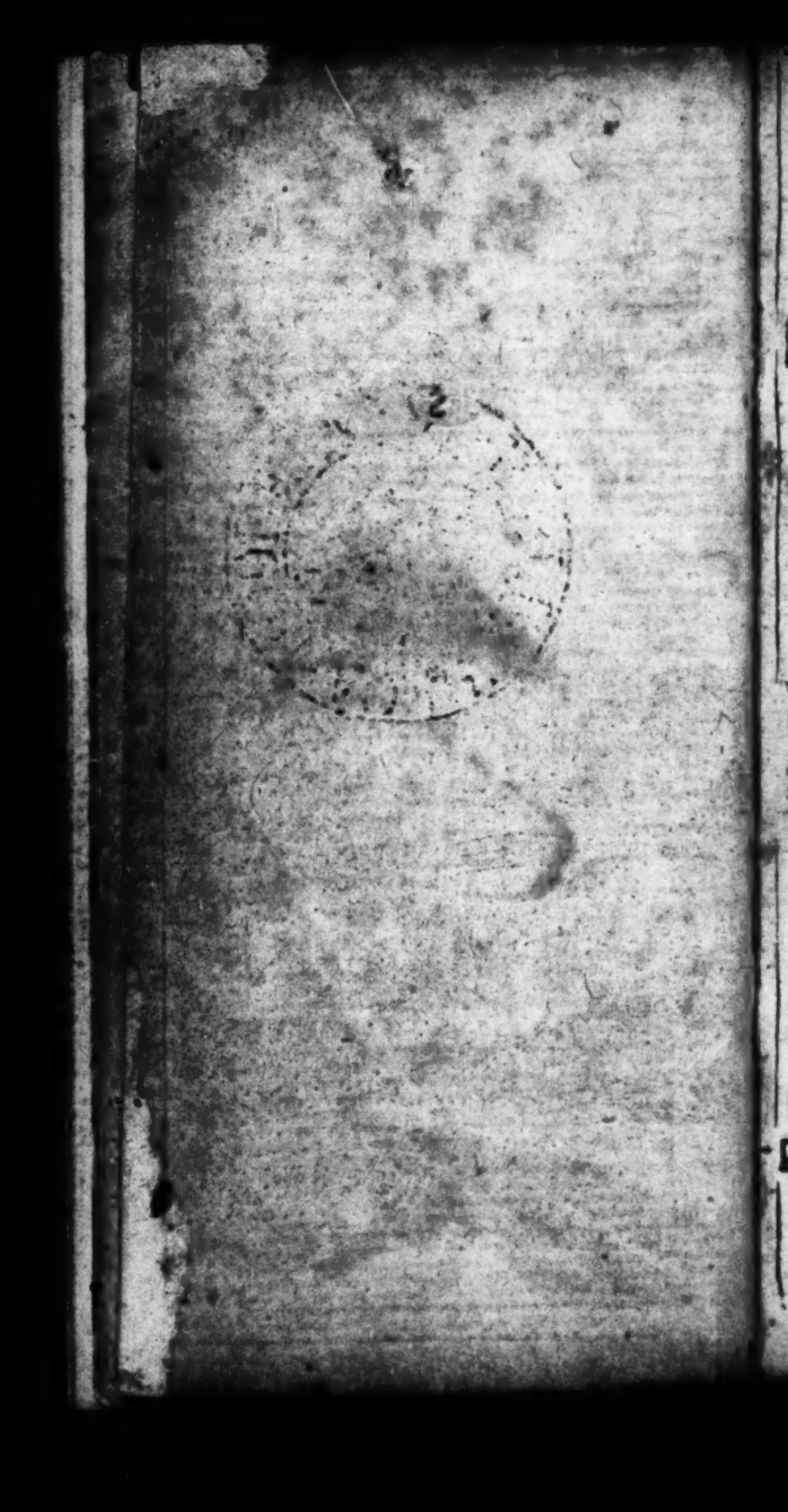
With joy I take this Crown of Thorn,
Though ſharp, yet eaſie to be born.

That glorious-happie Crown I ſee,
Depriv'd whereof I cannot be.

I ſlight *vain* things, and do embrace
Glorie the juſt reward of *Grace*.

G. D.

Clarior è tenebris,
TRIUMPHANS
CRESCIT SUB
PONDERE VIRTUS
Christi
Tracto
Guil: Marshall



C R

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

THE POURTRACTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS

With PRAYERS used in the time of His *Restraint*.

Also His MAJESTIES Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the *High Court of Justice*.

ROM. 8. More than Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Hereunto is annexed A Letter from the Prince of *Wales*.

Reprinted in Regis Memoriam, for *John Williams*, 1649.

226. K. 84

¶ An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

SO fails that ſtately Cedar; while it ſtood
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God, celeſtial Man,
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan:
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore,
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theam too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon Thy rare-incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
He'l find thee *King*, and *Prieſt*, and *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes, call the back again.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verſe
Thy Suff'rings and thy death let no man name;
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.

¶ The

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Also *His intended Reasons against the* High Court of Justice.

Likewise, *His Majesties Speech to the Ladie* Elisabeth, *&c.*

Mrs R. Ferdinand 1812 Cox-Ex

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

I *Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.*

His last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessitie of my affairs, than by my own choise and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliament, most safe for my Crown, as best pleasing to my People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with my self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by my Freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all mis-understandings, and mis-carriages in this: in which, as I feared, affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men; so I resolved they should find least of them in my self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens wel-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Par-

liament than my ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed my ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding, which would hence grow between me and my People.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, my own and my Childrens Intereſts gave me many obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporal bleſſing that is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as their greateſt Honour and ſafety, next Gods protection; I cared not to leſſen my ſelf in ſome things of my wonted Prerogative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my friends, but mine enemies alſo; exceeding even the deſires of thoſe that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſober ſenſe.

The *odium* and offences which ſome mens rigour or remiſneſſe in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſſe in practice; but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled, and preſerved in Truth, Unity, and Order than my ſelf; whom it moſt concerns both in piety and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil diſſentions are more dangerous than thoſe which make religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions

I reſolved to reform what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſſe; and to grant what ever my Reaſon and Conſcience told me was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept my ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered my own Judgement to have been overborn in ſome things, more by others Importunities, than their Arguments. My confidence had leſſe betrayed my ſelf and my Kingdoms to thoſe advantages which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power; and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not always satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have over laid our hopes: Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glorie by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions, afterwards to please thee. Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, thou giveſt us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of my calling this last Parliament; because, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention to thy glorie and my Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements, that thy rod as well as thy staff may comfort us. Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children. I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my People unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sins.

O thou Soveraign goodneſſe and wiſdom, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts; that the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy War, ſo let this war prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed: and thou wilt give to thy ſervant (though a ſinner) for my Saviours ſake. *Amen.*

2 *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him, in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphear, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in my Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the Temper of that people, more than led by his own diſpoſition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate

tunate Earl: when between my own unſatisfiednesse in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people, I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, than what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſing or denying that complyance on my part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my Judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regreet: which, as a ſign of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a fear of man, than of God, whoſe name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State-ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſom.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacy of that Maxim, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) than the People be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.* For,

In all likelyhood I could never have ſuffered, with my People, greater calamites, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at leaſt by denying to Sign that deſtructive *Bill*, according to that Juſtice, which my Conſcience ſuggeſted to me, than I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruel a favour. And I have obſerved that thoſe, who counſelled me to ſign that *Bill*, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more than they. He onely

hath

hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelle me not to conſent againſt the vote of my o Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven me a them, the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To which being in my ſoul ſo fully conſcio thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend up me, are ſo much the more wel-come; as a 'mea (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to m as to make me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for it was to me) and for the future to teach me, Th the beſt rule of policy Is to prefer the doing Juſtice, before all enjoyments; and the peace my Conſcience, before the preſervation of Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my reſol tions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, whi ſince have ſought to gain alike conſent from to Acts, wherein my Conſcience is unſatisfi than the ſharp touches I have had for what p ſed me, in my Lord of *Straffords* Buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him my affairs, againſt the advice of my Parliamen but I would not have had any hand in his Dea of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured th any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him clear, as after a long and fair hearing, to give co vincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of bo Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of wh ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the B paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Co mons many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to d miniſh my Lord of *Straffords* greatneſſe a power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, du not condemn him to die: who for their integri in their Votes, were (by poſting their names) e poſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fur which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamo *for Juſtice*, (that is, to have both my ſelf and t two Houſes Vote, and do as they would have that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified concur with the condemning party, than ſatisfi that of right they ought ſo to do.

An

And that after-Act vacating the Authoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tels the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loth should be repeated to themselves.

This tenderness and regreet I find in my soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly, (though under the colour and formalities of Justice and pretences of avoyding publick mischief:) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posteritie, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that bloud which hath bin shed in this unhappy War; which some men will needs charge on me, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, than to lose my own.

But thou, O God, of thy infinite mercies forgive me that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me than any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy; or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so far, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud guiltinesse, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, I shall be clean, wash me with that pretious Effusion, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailtie in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after troubles, thou hast for that among other

other ſins, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make me to prefer Juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Judge of our Conſciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit which Subjects my will to none; but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul: for thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expreſſions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours bloud, which ſpeaks better things; O make me, and my People to hear the voice of Joy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

---

3 *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act, Which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears, yea, and many of my frinds reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion than Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legal Trial which was all I deſired.

Nor

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further than I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made to embroyl my Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace; which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men in a fair and legal way (which God knows was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, than either to do me, and my Kingdoms right in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their Innocency; and removed my suspicion; which as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered:

What flames of discontent this spake (though I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witnesse: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their priviledge is so false, that as God best knows I had no such intent: so none that attended me could justly gather from any thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen as it was no unwonted thing for the Majesty and safety of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my followers at that time short of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, than I was un-assured of not having some affronts cast upon me, if I had none with me to preserve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented

vented against me, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that business was this.

Those men, and their adherents were th looked upon by the affraighted Vulgar, as gre Protectours of their Laws and Liberties, th my self, and so worthier of their protection leave them to God, and their own Conscienc who, if guilty of evil machinations, no pret impunity, or popular vindications of them, w but subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from the exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice mong men, we must religiously appeal, as bei an argument to us Christians of that after u avoidable Judgement, which shall rejudge, wh among men is but corruptly decided, or not all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God ha seen fit, those future commotions, which I son saw, would in all likelyhood follow some me activity (if not restrained) and so now hath don to the undoing of many thousands; the more the pity:

But to over-aw the Freedom of the House or to weaken their just Authority by any violen impressions upon them, was not at all my desig I thought I had so much Justice and Reason o my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear th repulse with patience, than to use such hazard ous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witnesse in heaven an in my heart: if I have purposed any violence or op pression against the Innocent: or if there were an such wickednesse in my thoughts

Then Let the enemy persecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but looke beyond all popular appearances, searching th heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to ligh the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self

L

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin in that matter; more than their Impunity among bad men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloudy and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocencie of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy Salvation.

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4 *Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all the mischiefs which have followed, than those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake shaking the very foundations of all; than which, nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea, so 'tis no lesse that he restrains the madnesse of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, than when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the Vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumules did to so high degrees of Insolence that they spared not to invade the Honour, and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude

rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to my Self and my Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague; but a quotidian feavour, alwayes encreasing to higher inflamations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears which some men scared themselves and others withall, when indeed nothing was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, than those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to Protect, than to Dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All Obstructions in Parliament (that is, all Freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candour) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they please to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolving to discharge their Conscience must be subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismatical proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had most mind to bring forth Confusion and Ruin upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe be fitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut down abhortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancyed.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated and connived at by some, countenanced, incouraged and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the Publick good, than obtain

obtain it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſuitable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and imbolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo, neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome reputation for parts and pietie to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by my ſelf, and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the Malignity of that now far-ſpread diſeaſe and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecuritie conſiſted in vulgar flatterie: So inſenſible were they of mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examin, cenſure, and puniſh the known *Bontefeus* and impudent incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtrie, which to ſober men could ſeem no better than that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive & devour.

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, th
no Declaration from the Bishops, who were fir
fouly insolensed and assaulted; nor yet from
ther Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor y
from my self, could take place for the due su
pression of these Tumults; and securing not on
our Freedom in Parliament, but our very Perso
in the streets; I thought my self not bound, by m
presence, to provoke them to higher boldne
and contempts: I hoped by my with-drawing
give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuo
furie, and others regaining some degrees of m
destv and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillan
mitie in any man, for popular terrours to des
his publick station. But I think it a hardines
beyond true valour, for a wise man to set hi
self against the breaking in of a Sea; which to re
sist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but t
withdraw, gives it space to spend its furie, an
gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certain
a Gallant man had rather fight to great disad
vantages for number and place in the field, in a
orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplin
rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditat
a War, (when I went from *White-hall*, onely t
reform my Person and Conscience from violenc
God knows. I did not then think of War. N
will any prudent man conceive that I would h
so many former, and some after Acts, have
much weakened my self, if I had purposed to e
gage in a War, which to decline by all means,
denyed my self in so many particulars: 'Tis ev
dent I had then no Army to flie unto, for pro
ction, or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other, for a wit
drawing Our selves from the daily baitings of t
Tumults, not knowing whether their furie a
discontent might not rise so high as to worrie a
tear those in pieces whom as yet, they but play
with in their paws? God, who is my sole Judg
is my witnesse in Heaven, that I never had a
though

rom my House at *Whitehall*,
ad but any reasonable fair
olved to bear much and did
ink my self bound to prosti-
f my Place and Person, the
nd Children to those who are
, when they have objects and
pable of their rudeness and

of the Tumults (whereof some
m account to God, others yet
lves desperately guiltie.) Time
y hath so smothered up and
k it best to leave it, as it is;
: just Avenger of all disorders,
those men, and that Citie,
e glasse of their punishment.
even-lay that they may one
punished by that way they of-

ent, as it was in its First E-
tution, fat full and free, the
Houses being left to their free-
n all Reason, Honour, and Re-
l have been, I doubt not but
e been so carried, as would
content to all good men, they
l.

olved to hear reason in all
ent so it so far as I could com-
s Swine are to Gardens and or-
soure Tumults to Parliaments,
tourses to publique Councels,
disorders and sordid confusi-

metimes to think, That had I
ament to any other place in-
ght opportunely enough have
equences in all likelyhood with
ght have been prevented. A
I have been welcome in any
orded such confluence of va-
humours, as that where it was

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I confesse, when I found such no Declaration from the Bisho foully insolenced and assaulted ther Lords and Gentlemen of from my self, could take plac pression of these Tumults; and our Freedom in Parliament, bu in the streets; I thought my self presence, to provoke them to and contempts: I hoped by my give time, both for the ebbing o furie, and others regaining so desty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an ef mitie in any man, for popular t his publick station. But I th beyond true valour, for a wis self against the breaking in of a sist, at present, threatens immine withdraw, gives it space to spe gains a fitter time to repair the b a Gallant man had rather fig vantages for number and place orderly way, then skuffle with rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed a War, (when I went from *Wh* redeem my Person and Conscien God knows. I did not then thin will any prudent man conceiv so many former, and some af much weakened my self, if I hac gage in a War, which to declin denyed my self in so many parti dent I had then no Army to flit dion, or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any drawing Our selves from the dail Tumults, not knowing whether discontent might not tie so high tear those in pieces whom as yet with in their paws? God, who is my witnesse in Heaven, that

oughts of going from my House at *White-hall*, I could have had but any reasonable fair quarter: I was resolved to bear much and did o; but I did not think my self bound to prosti-ute the Majestie of my Place and Person, the afety of my Wife and Children to those who are one to insult most, when they have objects and pportunitie most capable of their rudenesse and tulancy.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some ave already given an account to God, others yet ving know themselves desperately guiltie) Time nd the guilt of many hath so smothered up and utied, that I think it best to leave it, as it is, nely, I believe the just Avenger of all disorders ill in time make those men, and that Citie e their sin in the glasse of their punishment. is more than an even-lay that they may one ay see themselves punished by that way they of-nded.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its First E-ction and Constitution, sat full and free, the embers of both Houses being left to their free-om of Voting as in all Reason, Honour, and Re-gion, they should have been, I doubt not but ings would have been so carried, as would ave given no lesse content to all good men, they ished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all hings, and to consent to it so far as I could com-rehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and or-erly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, nd Plebeian concourses to publique Councels, rning all into disorders and sordid confusi-ons.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I alled this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of va-rious and vicious humours, as that where it was

up-

unhappily convened. But we muſt leave t
God, who orders our diſorders, and mag
his wiſdom moſt, when our follies and miſ
are moſt diſcovered.

But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defenc
thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging
the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are com
upon me, and are ready to over whelm me.

I look upon my ſins, and the ſins of my Pe
(which are the tumults of our ſouls againſt the
Lord,) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inun
tions which thou permitteſt to overbear all
banks of Loyalty, Modeſtie, Laws, Juſtice,
Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the waters into
place, and madeſt the drie land to appear,
after didſt aſſwage the floud which drowned
world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke th
beaſts of the People, and deliver me from
rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore, we beſeech thee, unto us, the freedom
our Counſels and Parliaments; make us unp
onately to ſee the light of Reaſon, and Relig
and with all order and gravity to follow it,
it becomes Men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we p
thy name, who art the God of Order and Cou

What man cannot, or will not repreſſe,
omnipotent Juſtice can, and will.

O Lord give them that are yet living, a ti
ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſin, wh
thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppre
thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and no ſuffe
hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſion by Reaſon; to our
rours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Laws duly
cuted, and to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we
be, as thy Jeruſalem, a Citie at unitie in it ſelf.

This grant, O my God, in thy good time
Jeſus Chriſts ſake. *Amen.*

5 Up

5 *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: and after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.*

THat the World might be fully confirmed in my purposes at first; to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience I could, to the Happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in me no other design but the General good of my Kingdoms) I willingly passed the Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head, or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first three years; but I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work than they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activitie, that they will needs make work rather than want it; and chuse to be doing amisse rather then do nothing.

When that first act seemed too scanty to satisfie some mens fears, and to compasse publick affairs, I was perswaded to grant that Bill of sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense, to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present jealousies, and future mistakes: I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut my self out of doors, as some men have now required me.

True, It was an act unparalell'd by any of my

Predeceſſours, yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation than this, of an extream confidence I had, that my Subjects would not make an ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to them, as to denie my ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit, that my condition ſhould be worſe by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would best keep the Common-weal in tune; by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein my Intereſt lies more than any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, my Rights as a King, would be preſerved no leſſe than my Subjects which is all I deſired. More than the Law gives me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented me of that ſerling Act: and many would need's perſwade me, I had cauſe ſo to do; but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in Men of Honour; That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have, and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted my ſelf, undiminiſhed by my largeſt Conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my People.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſſe me with increaſe of it: when we ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice that with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more Princely than friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happineſſe, who are not onely miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time the Loyal and cleared affections of my People will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of honour, and love to me, or my Poſteritie, as

fully compenſate both the acts of my confidence and my ſufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort, occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little to men, that being profeſſedly my Subjects, pretended ſingular pietie and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The Injury of all Injuries is, That which ſome men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of my own and my Subjects miſeries: while (as they confidently but (God knows) falſly devulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtilitie, to undo what by my Royal aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extream fatuity of mind in me, for to bind my own hands at their requeſt; if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knows though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries, yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, *to injure my ſelf by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatened to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacitie to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater and more deſired advantages againſt me, than by ſo unprincely inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more than that my ſelf, and my Subjects might quiet-

ly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a course full of sin, as well as of Hazard and dishonour for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too in all probability: If some men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sinceritie and uprightnesse of my own heart in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, That although I may seem a lesse Polititian to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the Pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down head-long;

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by ways of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds than this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because mine were good.

TO thee, O my God, do I ſtill appeal, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſees through all the diſguiſes of mens pretenſions, and deceitfull darkneſſe of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt me a heart to grant much to my Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitting to ſuffer much from ſome of them.

Thy will be done, though never ſo much to the croſſing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be moſt conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſe.

Let thy grace teach me wiſely to enjoy as well the fruſtrating, as the fulfillings of my beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allay others fears, I have raiſed mine own; and by ſetling them, have unſetled my ſelf.

Thus have they requited me evil for good, and hatred for my good towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor my making any other, with that ſafety and Honour which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for thee to keep me ſafe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preſerve me amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too many, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuſe my acts of greateſt indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favours from me can make others more guiltie than my ſelf may be, if miſuſing thoſe many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on me.

I beſeech thee give me and them ſuch repentance, as thou wilt accept, and ſuch grace as we may not abuſe.

Make me ſo far happy, as to make a right uſe of others abuſes, and by their failings of me, to reflect, with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon my offences againſt thee.

So although for my ſins I am by other mens ſin deprived of thy temporal bleſſings, yet I may b happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, whil often raiſe the greateſt Sufferers to be the mo glorious Saints.

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6 *Upon his Majeſties retirement from* Weſtminſter.

With what willingneſſe I withdrew fro *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who unpro vided of tackling and victual are forced to Se by a ſtorm; yet better do ſo, than venture ſplitti or ſinking on a Lee-ſhore.

I ſtayed at *White-hall*, till I was driven away b ſhame more than fear; to ſee the barbarous rud neſſe of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they woul take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and m leave either my ſelf, or the Members of Parlia ment, the Liberty of our Reaſon and Conſcienc to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion my ca alone, (though chiefly mine) for the Lords an Commons might be content to be overvoted b the *major* part of their Houſes, when they ha uſed each their own Freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law reaſon concluſive to my Judgement; nor can the include, or carrie with them my conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kind; Nor am I furth bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſe than I ſee them agree with the will of God, wit my juſt Rights, as a King, and the general goo of my People. I ſee that as many men they a ſeldom of one mind; and I may oft ſee, that th *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moder minds, how deſirous I was to give all juſt co tent, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which ha been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all; if ſom mens Hydropick inſatiablenes had not learned t thirſt the more by how much more they drank

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whom no fountain of Royal bountie was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Counsel, when not Reason is used as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to what ever tumultuary Patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitie, or redemption, that is content to have the rational Soveraignty of his soul, and libertie of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that Freedom, which cannot be denied me as a King, because it belongs to me as a man and a Christian, owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above me, as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which subjects onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs me, than live with the Title of a King, if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majestie of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation-Oath: in a blind and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs inferre; while denying me any power of a Negative Voice as a King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the libertie of using my Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever my self, as King, or the House of Peers with me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point by my Governing onely by such Laws, as my People with the house of Peers have chosen, and my self have consented to. I shall never think my self conscientiously tied to go as oft against my Conscience, as I should

consent to such new Proposals, which my Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids me denie.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being Subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurditie they make their King the onely man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left him, to use his own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if my dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, activenesse, weakenesse, or wilfulnesse, and what they call Obstinacy in me (which not true Judgement of things but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my mind;) yet can no man think it other than the Badge and Method of Slaverie, by savage rudenesse, and importunate obtrusions of violence to have the mist of his Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and Faithfully follows what he takes for Reason: The uprightnesse of his intensions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defect of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in assistance of meer force to carrie on the weaknesse of their Counsels, and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightnesse of my heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to me, by the two Houses, further than I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please me more, than when

when my Judgement ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea in many things where not abſolute and morall neceſſitie of Reaſon, but temporarie convenience on point of Honour was to be conſidered, I choſe rather to denie my ſelf than them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſarie for my Peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for my ſelf.

For I can be contented to recede much from my own Intereſts, and perſonall Rights, of which I conceive my ſelf to be Maſter; but in what concerns Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the general good of my Kingdoms: (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in me) here I am, and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute; nor ſhall any man gain my conſent to that wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in my Conſcience I denied before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, than to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend and comply to the various, and oft contrarie dictates of any Factions; when in ſtead of Reaſon, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills and paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthie a Chriſtian King, than to prefer his Conſcience before his Kingdom.

O My God, preſerve thy ſervant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we ſhould maintain: who though thou doſt juſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings and wils to thine, whoſe wiſdom and goodneſſe can neither erre, nor miſguid us, and ſo far to denie our carnal reaſon, in order to thy ſacred Myſteries, and Commands, that we ſhould believe and obey

rather than diſpute them; yet doſt thou exp
from us, onely ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee
not to do any thing for thee, againſt our conſc
ences; and as to do the deſires of men, enjoine
us to trie things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſ
and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Juſtice
and to declare our conſents to that onely whi
our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I w
to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet m
and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at pr
ſent did call me.

My People can witneſſe how far I have be
content for their good, to deny my ſelf, in wh
thou haſt ſubjected to my diſpoſals

O let not the unthankfull importunities, a
tumultuarie violence of ſome mens immoder
demands, ever betray me to that degenerous a
unmanlie ſlaverie, which ſhould make me ſtreng
en them by my conſent in thoſe things which
think in my Conſcience to be againſt thy glor
the good of my Subjects, and the diſcharge
mine own Dutie in Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make me willingly to ſuffer the greateſt indig
ties, and injuries they preſſe upon me, rather th
commit the leaſt ſin againſt my Conſcience.

Let the juſt Liberties of my People be (
well they may) preſerved in fair and equal wai
without the ſlaverie of my ſoul.

Thou that haſt inveſted me by thy favour,
the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer me no
ſubject my Reaſon to other mens paſſions, and
ſigns, which to me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, a
irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the uprig
neſſe of my heart, though I cannot ſatisfie th
men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet gi
me grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Juſtice; f
theſe, I know, will bring me at laſt to peace a
happineſſe with thee; though for theſe I h
much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours ſake.

7 Up

7 *Upon the Queens Departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at my Wives Departure from me, and out of my Dominion; yet not her abſence ſo much, as the ſcandal of that neceſſitie, which drives her away doth afflict me. That ſhe ſhould be compelled by mine own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for her ſafetie: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects that have taken up Arms againſt their King a Proteſtant: For I look upon this done in *England* as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant Profeſsion) may occaſion a further alienation of mind and divorce of affections in her, from that Religion, which is the onelie thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can and I pray he would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practices, to be any obſtruction to her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who continue firm to their former ſetled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorrie my Relation to ſo deſerving a Ladie ſhould be any occaſion of her danger and affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſſe and barbaritie knows not ſo perfectly to hate all virtues, as ſome mens ſubtiltie doth, among whom I yet think few are ſo malicious as to hate her for her ſelf. The fault is, that ſhe is my Wife.

All

All justice then as well as affection command me to studie her Securitie, who is onely in danger for my sake; I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten and ship-wrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safetie in the midst of my Personal Dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved: In whose memorie and hopefull Posteritie, I may yet survive the malice of mine Enemies, although they should be satiated with my Bloud.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of my good Subjects, and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them by those who in all Dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyaltie: Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie so noble and peacefull a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanitie, and impudence.

Her sympathie with me in my afflictions, will make her virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights; and assure the envious world, that she loves me, not my Fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generalitie, and Vulgar; for we see God himself pleased to trie both our patiences, by the most self-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who have eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bountie, have scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of our own Household are become our Enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfie all Obligations to Dutie by their Corban of Religion:

Religion: and can leſſe endure to ſee, than to ſin againſt the benefactours as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is ſo far venial, as it was neceſſary to their deſigns, by ſcandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeek to drive her out of my Kingdoms, leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for Love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their Love, and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God, and my own Heart, whence no malice can baniſh her, my enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy my ſelf.

Thou, O Lord, whoſe Juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter us, let thy Mercy in thy due time reunite us on earth, if it be thy will, however bring us both at laſt, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preſerve us from the hands of our deſpitefull and deadly enemies: and prepare us by our ſufferings for thy preſence.

Though we differ in ſome things, as to Religion (which is my greateſt temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the ſincerity of our affections, which deſire to ſeek, find, and to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy ſelf, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldeſt have us to know in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our ſouls eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, nor unbelief, or diſobedience to what we know be our miſery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandal of thoſe my Subjects which profeſſe the ſame Religion with me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldeſt have her to learn, or any hardening of her

her in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the Poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her judgement, with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loyalty, Charity and Peaceablenesse, which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths; as Thine; that she may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those holy duties, which most agree with his holy Doctrine and most imitable example.

The experience we have of vanitie, and uncertaintie of all humane glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

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8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull*, seemed at the first view an act of so rude Disloyaltie, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet or own it: It was the first overt-Essay to be made how patiently I could bear the losse of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it afflicted me more, with shame and sorrow for others, than with anger for my selfe.

ſelf: nor did the affront done to me trouble me ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly contain themſeves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to overſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyal undertakers, That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun than not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous than the aſſault; and hate repentance more than perſeverance in a fault.

This gave me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome mens whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother than oyl, but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it my beſt policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſſion tranſported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or ſay any thing, unbeſeeming my ſelf or unſutable to that temper, which in greateſt injuries, I think, beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed I deſire alwayes more to remember I am a Chriſtian, than a King; for what the Majeſty of one might juſtly abhor, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compaſſe all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſſe injures a man more than his greateſt enemies can, for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſouls, which other wayes cannot reach very farr nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long ſo pleaded, and a venged my cauſe, in the eye the world, that the moſt wilfully blind can avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome morſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, a prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproched, unthre ened, uncurſed, by any language or ſecret imp cation of mine, onely blaſted with the Conſcie of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from o inconſtancy to another, not long after payes own and his eldeſt ſons heads, as forfeiture their diſloyaltie, to thoſe men from whom ſure he might have expected another reward th thus to divide their heads from their bodi whoſe hearts with them were divided from the King.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed th at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgi Him, who had ſo much premerited of them, Fo Apoſtacie unto Loyaltie ſome men account t moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turn, t cutting off one head in a Family is not enough expiate the afront done to the head of the Co mon-wealth. The eldeſt Son muſt be involved the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſin the Father, againſt the Father of his Countr Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fan God knows, I was far from rejoycing in t *Hothams* ruin, (though it were ſuch as was t to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a ſ draught, being executed by them who firſt e ployed him againſt me) that I ſo far pitied hi as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt th light of his Conſcience, than I hope many oth men do in the ſame Cauſe.

For, he was never thought to be of that ſup ſtitious ſowerneſſe, which ſome men pretend in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens the judgement, that they cannot ſee any thing of

and Rebellion in thoſe means they uſe, with in
ents to reform to their Models, what they call
Religion, who think all is gold of piety. which
doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeal and Fervency
Sir *John Hotham* was(I think) a man of ano-
ther temper, and ſo moſt liable to thoſe down
right temptations of ambition, which have no
cloak or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon them-
ſelves or others.

That which makes me more pitie him is, that after
he began to have ſome inclinations towards a
repentance for his ſin, and reparation of his duty
to me, He ſhould be ſo unhappy as to fall into
the hands of their Juſtice, and not my Mercy,
who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he
could have aſked that favour of me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought
to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe
to believe they would not after abuſe it, ſince
God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for
his mercy, but onely prayers and praiſes.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable
monument of unproſperous diſloyalty, teaching
the world by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle,
that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his
Sovereign, carries alwaies its own vengeance, as
an unſeparable ſhadow with it; & thoſe oft prove
the moſt fatal, and implacable Executioners of it,
who were the firſt Imployers in the ſervice.

Aftertimes will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were
more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though
'tis certain, that no puniſhment ſo ſtains a mans
Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy
actions; which beſides the Conſcience of the ſin,
brands, with moſt indelible Characters of infa-
my, the name and memory to Poſterity, who not
engaged in the Factions of the times, have the
moſt impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who haſt in ſo remarkable
away avenged thy ſervant, ſuffer me not to take
any ſecret pleaſure in it, for as his death hath
ſatisfied the injurie he did to me, ſo let me not

by

by it gratifie any passion in me, left I make vengeance to be mine, and consider the affron gainst me, more than the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeav of mine, hast made his mischief to return on own head, and his violent dealing to come do on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my Cause, even before sons of men, and taken the matter into thine hands; that men may know it was thy work, see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, So let mine Ene perish, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them pentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it be thy fed will.

Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and portunities of my Mercie, yea let them live and mend who have most offended me in so high nature, that I may have those to forgive who most proportion in their offences to those trea ses against thy Majestie; which, I hope, thy M cie hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to charge for condemnation but to their conscien for amendment: Let the lightening of this thun bolt, which hath been so severe a punishmen one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sin who know not have done amisse, and scare them from their that sin of malitious wickednesse.

That, preventing thy judgements by their repentance, they may escape the strokes of thin ternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the throne thy servant in mercie and truth, meeting toge let my Crown ever flourish in righteousnesse peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught u pray for, to do good to, and to love our ene for thy sake; who hast prevented us with o tures of thy love, even when we were thine mies and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to di us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

9 *Upon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced me to leave *White hall:* what Tumults could not do, an Army muſt, which is but Tumults liſted and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be Conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling me: here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to fear him more than man: and to love the inward peace of my Conſcience before any outward tranquillitie.

And muſt I be oppoſed with Force, becauſe they have not Reaſon wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage; they confeſſe their known weakneſſe, as to Truth, and Juſtice, who chuſe rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed; and for thoſe many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King but by my ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King that loves his People and deſires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of my moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits I muſt now reap after ſeventeen years living and reigning among them with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill counſel of ſome men, driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſſe of others envying the Publick ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſu-

perable

perable neceſſities of State, than any propo
I hope, of my ſelf either to injuriouſneſſ
preſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud during my Reign
I ſhed to ſatisfie my luſt, anger, or covetouſ
What Widows or Orphans tears can witne
gainſt me, the juſt cry of which muſt now
venged with my own bloud? For the hazar
War are equal, nor doth the Canon know a
ſpect of Perſons.

In vain is my Perſon excepted by a Paren
of words, when ſo many hands are armed ag
me with Swords.

God knows how much I have ſtudied to
what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this
againſt me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt
faction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unna
a motion; which (to many men) ſeems rathe
productions of a ſurfeit of Peace, and wanton
of Minds, or of private Diſcontents, Ambi
and Faction, (which eaſily find, or make c
of quarrel) than any real obſtructions of pub
Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be abl
avoid and anſwer before God in my own co
ence, however ſome men are not willing to bel
me, leſt they ſhould condemn them.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to
if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults,
not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Re
can be given, (where an orderly Guard was g
ed, but onely to oppreſſe both mine and the
Houſes Freedom of Declaring and Voting acc
ing to every mans Conſcience) what obſtruc
of Juſtice were there further than this, that
ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeem ſo to
other?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the
ſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the
tialitie of their trial, (warned by my Lord
Straffords death) while the Vulgar threaten
be their Oppreſſours, and Judges of their Ju

from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to reſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſence with libertie and ſafetie, it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruin them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honour of the two Houſes; had they exerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences, I know no man ſo dear to me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe rather to withdraw himſelf, or denie appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject is bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar insolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-awed with the Tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence, the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruin, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further than this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, than Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the *major* part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activitie of factious Tumults) to ſift and terifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrarie minds to their purpoſes.

How

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops e[illegible]ing their ancient Places, and undoubted P[illegible]ledges in the House of Peers, carried for the[illegible] far the *major* part of Lords? Yet after five re[illegible]ses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was [illegible] tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and b[illegible] few carried, when most of the Peers were fo[illegible] to absent themselves.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root [illegible] Branch, brought on by tumultuarie clamours, [illegible] schismaticall Terrours, which could never p[illegible] till both Houses were sufficiently thinned [illegible] over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reason, [illegible]stice and Religion, my Conscience forbids [illegible] by consenting to make up their Votes to A[illegible] of Parliament; I must now be urged with [illegible] Army, and constrained either to hazard [illegible] own, and my Kingdoms ruin by my Defe[illegible] or prostrate my Couscience to the blind ob[illegible]ence of those men, whose zealous Superstit[illegible] thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God [illegible] the Church a greater service, than utterly to [illegible]stroy that Primitive, Apostolical, and anci[illegible]ly Universal Government of the Church by [illegible]shops.

Which if other mens judgements bind [illegible] to maintain, or forbids them to consent to [illegible] abolishing of it: mine much more; who, be[illegible] the grounds I have in my judgement, have al[illegible] most strict and indispensible Oath upon my C[illegible]science, to preserve that Order, and the Righ[illegible] the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious [illegible] abhorred Perjury, most unbeseeming a Chri[illegible] King, should I ever by giving my consent [illegible] betraied, I should account it infinitely gr[illegible] misery, than any hath, or can befall me; in as [illegible] as the least sin hath more evil in it, than the g[illegible]est affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Ep[illegible]pal Faction at first in this point, with my co[illegible] and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Governm[illegible] and Revenues, to the furie of their covetous[illegible] ambition, and revenge, I believe they would [illegible]

ve found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an
my to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.
That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Bi-
ops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a
m perſwaſion of their contentedneſſe to ſuffer
preſent diminution in their Rights and Honour,
r my ſake, and the Common-weals, which I was
nfident they would readily yield unto, rather
an occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their
rt) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdom. That
annot adde my conſent to the total extirpa-
n of that Government (which I have often of-
ed to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further
upon my Conſcience, as what I think Religi-
s and Apoſtolical; and ſo very ſacred and
vine, as not to be diſpenſed with, or deſtroyed,
hen what is onely of civil Favour, and Privi-
dge of Honour granted to men of that Order,
y with their conſent, who are concerned in it,
annulled.
This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pre-
nded to be in poinr of Juſtice and Authority of
rliament; when I call God to witneſſe, I knew
ne of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking
to make a War, being onely ſuch as Juſtice,
eaſon, and Religion had made in my own and
ther mens Conſciences.
Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents
as made; which were but conſequences neceſ-
rily following upon mine or others withdraw-
g from, or defence againſt violence; but thoſe
ould not be the firſt occaſions of raiſing an Ar-
y againſt me. Wherein I was ſo far from pre-
nting them, (as they have declared often, that
ey might ſeem to have the advantage and Ju-
ice of the defenſive part, and load me with all
e envy & injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) when
God knows I had not ſo much as any hopes of
n Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been
onourably and Effectually repreſſed by exem-
ary Juſtice, and the Liberty of the Houſes ſo
ndicated, that all Members of either Houſe
ight with Honour and Freedom, becoming ſuch

a Senate, have come and discharged their sciences, I had obtained all that I desig my withdrawing; and had much more w ly, and spedily returned than I retired; this my necessity driving, the other my choise ring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring same judgement and constancy, which I c with me, which would never fit their des and so while they invited me to come, and vously complained of my absence, yet they not but be pleased with it: especially when had found out that plausible and popular pr of raising an Army to fetch in Delinquents: all that while they never punished the gr and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tu and their Exciters, which drave my self, many of both Houses from their places, by barbarous indignities, which yet in all R and Honour, they were as loth to have des as those others were willing they should, th they might have occasion to persecute them the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift design in raising an Army against me, is by qual so evident, that all other pretences v For when they declared by Propositions or ties, what they would have to appease them, was nothing of consequence offered to me, o manded of me, as any originall difference in point of Law, or order of Justice. But, other lesser Invocations, this chiefly was u The Abolition of Episcopal, and the Est ment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded either impertinent as to any ground of a W easily granted by me, and onely to make number, or else they were meerly consequ or accessary, after the War was by them u begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, the noise and shew of pietie, and heat for R mation and Religion, might easily so fill wit

judice, that all equalitie and clearneſſe of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between Us, when they firſt raiſed an Armie, with this Deſign, either to ſtop my mouth, or to force my conſent: and in this truth, as to my Conſcience, (who was, God knows, as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the World from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate Succeſſes of this War, on my ſide, I do not think mine innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkened; nor am I without that integritie, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe my praier to him.

For thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thine omniſcience eternally guids thine unerrable judement.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoul, and have not ſet thee before their eies.

Conſider mine Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadlie hatred without a cauſe.

For thou knoweſt I had no paſsion, deſign, or preparation to embroil my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more than any, and could gain leaſt of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſsitie thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſtie of my Subjects bloud, as to venture mine own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; & which were better ſpent to ſave, than to deſtroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the War, will needs

perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or g
ven juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongue
ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpe
mine own innocencie: yea, I could be content
leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great
guilt before men, if by that I might allay the m
lice of mine Enemies and redeem my People fro
this miſerable War, ſince thou, O Lord, know
mine Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloudie and deceitfull me
many of whom have not lived out half their da
in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoym
of the fruit of their violent and wicked Counſe

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto th
haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the People t
delight in War.

Ariſe, O Lord, lift up thy ſelf becauſe of the r
of mine Enemies which encreaſeth more & mo
Behold them that have conceived miſchief, m
vailed with iniquitie and brought forth falſhood

Thou knowest the chief deſign of this War
either to deſtroy my Perſon, or force my Judg
ment, and to make me renege my Conſcience
thy Truth.

I am driven to croſſe *David*, choiſe, and de
rather to fall into the hands of men by deny
them, (though their mercies be cruel) than
thine hands by ſinning againſt my conſcie
and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming
Better they deſtroy me than thou ſhouldſt d
me.

Be thou ever the Defence of my Soul, who
ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but my Bloud will ſatisfie mine E
mies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms
thy temporal Juſtice, I am content, if it be
will, that it be ſhed by mine own Subjects ha

But, O let the bloud of me, though their K
yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the bloud of my i
cent and peace-making Redeemer; for in tha
Juſtice will find not onely a temporarie expia
but an eternal plenary ſatisfaction: both for
ſa

ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they do.

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10 *Upon their ſeizing the* Kings *Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Armie, and beginning this Civil War, the eies that onely pitie me, and the Loyal hearts that durſt onely pray for me at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appear not ſo many on my ſide as there were men in Arms liſted againſt me; my unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſheartem thoſe that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſſe to fight; yet it teſtifies for me that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my ſelf, or to preſerve what is mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much a fore-hand in their preparations againſt me, and ſurpriſals of my ſtrength. Such as are not for them yet dare not be for me; ſo over-awed is their Loyaltie by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my innocencie, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guiltie in their eſteem, who would not ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Armes left me, were thoſe onely, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutours Prayers, and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and ſurpriſing my

Caſtles, Forts, Armes, and Navie, with the Mi-
litia is ſo far beſt for me, That it may drive
from putting any truſt in the arm of fleſh,
wholly to caſt my ſelf into the protection of
living God, who can ſave by few, or none,
well as by many.

He that made the greedie Ravens to be
Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make
ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, an
portunitie to ſhew me the ſpecial ſupport of
power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of
Militia ſo much in reference to my own protec
as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve me;
am above my own; what I want in the hands
Force and Power, I have in the wings of Fa
and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men
needs take to reſolve their riddle of making
glorious King by taking away my Kingly pow
Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to my Friends,
a terrour to my Enemies, by being unable to Sa
cour the one or Suppreſſe the other.

For thus have they deſigned, and propoſed
me; the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Ki
ſhip, as without any realitie of power, ſo with
any neceſſitie of ſubjection and obedience: T
the Majeſtie of the Kings of *England* might h
after, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magneti
Charm, between the Power and Privileges
the two Houſes, in an aierie imagination of Re
litie.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Po
which ſome men have greedily ſeized on,
now ſeek wholly to devour will, ere long,
the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them
they cannot well digeſt it; Sovereign Pow
Subjects ſeldom agreeing with the ſtomach
fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the co
Militia ſought, by ſatisfying their fears
portunities, both to ſecure my Friends, and

come mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my ſelf of a ſole power to help or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crown) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealouſies in them, of me; and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to my ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and my People; if I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People further than they protected me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would not defend my ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who, conſcious to their own evil merits and deſigns, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught my Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from me, and imployed againſt me and them, that neither can be ſafe if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publick ſafetie and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of mine, as to the exerciſe of the *Militia* ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactorie to ſome men: which ſeem to be Enemies not to me onely, but to all Monarchie, and are reſolved to tranſmit to Poſteritie ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſarie Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to my Succeſſours, forbid me to yield to ſuch a total alienation of that power from them, which civilitie and dutie (no leſſe than juſtice and honour) ſhould have forbad them to have aſked of me.

For, although I can be content to eclipſe mine own beams, to ſatisfie their fear; who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſter of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted me;

yet I will never consent to put out the Sun o
Sovereignitie to all Posteritie, and succeeding
Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights fro
unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never b
prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of min
which indeed would not be more injurious t
succeeding Kings, than to my Subjects: whom I
desire to leave in a condition not wholly desp
rate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever sub
jected to those many factious distractions, which
must needs follow the many headed *Hydra* of Go
vernment: which, as it makes a shew to the Peo
ple to have more eies to foresee; so they will find i
hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied
and (at best) it hath rather a monstrositie, than
any thing of perfection, beyond that right Monar
chy; where Counsel may be in many as the sense
but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the
Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrours an
Malignant influence which will certainly follow
my enforced darknesse and eclipse, (occasioned
by the interposition and shadow of that body
which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest ligh
from me) they will at length more esteem and wi
come the restored glorie and blessing of the Su
light.

And if at present I may seem by my receding
so much from the use of my Right in the Pow
of the *Militia* to come short of the discharge o
that trust to which I am sworn for my Peop
protection; I conceive those men are guiltie o
the enforced perjurie, (if so it may seem) wh
compel me to take this new and strange way o
discharging my trust, by seeming to desert it;
protecting my Subjects by exposing my self to da
ger or dishonour, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civil War w
advantages of Power cannot be effected but b
some side yielding; to which the greatest love
the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance
Gods protection (arising from a good Co
science) doth more invite me, than can be ex

ed from other mens fears; which, arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successefull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safetie, than that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak Defences against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Consciences, which always attend injurious perpetrations.

For my self, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessitie is pleased to take from me, in order to my Peoples tranquilitie, and Gods glorie, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to me, as he did to *Job*, whatever Honour, Power, or Libertie the *Caldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himself can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all Defence of Arms and *Militia*, all Refuge by Land of Forts, and Castles; all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive me of mine own Innocencie, or Gods Mercie nor obstruct my way to Heaven.

THerefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me than can be against me.

There is none in heaven, or in earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all be thou more than all to me; Make haste to succour me thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But mine eies are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to Conquer, yet at least to Suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safetie, and prosperitie, behold here I am willing to be reduced

so what thou wilt have me; whose judgements oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou maist be all.

Thou hast taught me that no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side; and I shall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy justice the glorie of my distresse. O let thy mercie have the glorie of my Deliverance from them that persecute my Soul!

By my sins have I sought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who am thy Subject, and justly maiest thou by mine own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glorie.

But shew thy self, O my hope and onelie refuge. Let not mine Enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-steps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eie, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly Enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II *Upon the nineteen Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set mine own Safetie, and my People's

Peace

Peace: which I cannot think to buy at too dear a rate, ſave onely with the parting with my Conſcience and Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable and inglorious, as mine Enemies can make or wiſh me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; Others are eaſily granted: The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of War; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating my Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making War upon my Soul.

Here are many things required of me, but I ſee nothing offered to me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requital of thoſe favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot aſk more than I can give: may I but reſerve to my ſelf the incommunicable Jewell of my Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to me, and while I have any maſterie of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yielding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will denie nothing

The love I have of my Peoples Peace hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken mine outward ſtate of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conſciene, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me than my Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet

in Honour and Policy are at ſome time to be denied, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands or importunities.

But to bind my ſelf to a general and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man; not fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King by his own Subjects: any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdom, as he doth in place and Power.

This were as if *Samſon* ſhould have conſented, not onely to bind his own hands and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philiſtines might with the more ſafety mock and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do than quite to deſtroy him, when he was become a tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial ſeems an arrogancy, leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and Loyal way of Petitioning; who by this inſufficiently confeſſe their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quiet with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give, who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reaſon to Conſent, or Diſſent: elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having no liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me in Reaſon as a Man and in Honour as a Sovereign King, as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other than extream injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from mine both in Reaſon and Honour as their aims may be and their qualities are? which laſt, God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed, making

their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent Oppositions if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominions.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon min own discretion; that so I might verifie what representation some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupil than their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to anymens dictates, and at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the Freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part of) these Propounders are; so that till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me: I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Jehues*: and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Supremacy, portends more of *Phaeton* than of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to commmand my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me; I expected either some good Laws, which had

been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customs preterlegal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or some injuries done by my self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendered to me wherein the advantages of my Crown being considered, by them, might fairly enduce me to condescend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve my people according to my place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiss in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both: not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universal practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the other Institution, and also supply its pretended defect: reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both Divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to the ends: Nothing of ancient Laws dis-jointed, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be unobstructed; of any compensations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty, I perceive that what were formerly looked ugon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so, punishable by the *Laws*, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours: and, assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them: and a totall exterpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main; other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible novelties, of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*; among whom I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the *major* part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Misgovernment, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not for all upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church. Yet

Yet by a ſtrange fatalitie, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, a ſupine credulitie (believing that all is gold which is gilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in judgement to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe an abetment from thoſe popular clamours and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activitie of thoſe men who ſtudied with all diligence and policie to improve to their innovating Deſigns, the preſent Diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in my Judgement, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt my Perſon, yet the firſt ſhould never overcome me, further than I ſee cauſe; for I look not at their Number and Power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livorie, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the crie, and hallow of thoſe men who hunt after Factions, and private Deſigns, to the ruin of the Church and State.

Did my Judgement tell me, that the Propoſitions ſent to me were the Reſults of the major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their Freedom as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect mine own judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charitie enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humilitie to think that, as in ſome things I may want, ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a compli-

ment

neſſe and inerrabilitie as to exclude my ſelf, ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as my ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſarie in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdom, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to me than this is, That they are not the joint and free deſires of thoſe in their *major* number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, maſked under the name of Reformation; (which in my two laſt famous Predeceſſours daies, heaved at, and ſometime threatened both Prince and Parliaments:) But I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whoſe maſſe of the Nobilitie and Gentrie of this Kingdom; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the *major* part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire and affect ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant that the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countries: ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt Deſires of Change, to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safetie both of Church and State command me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down; If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do

of

of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and man they have no more cause to quarrel with me, than for this That my throat is not so wide as their. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanitie to shew my negative power, shall have my Byas upon my judgement to make me gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more than Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will studie to satisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyaltie and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithfull counsel; which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsel of that mighty Counseller who can both suggest what is best and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O Thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy servant first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason and Justice, in my Understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me, against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse than a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and libertie of Speech.

Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracitie and constancie in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partialitie, and injustice, they denie that freedom to me their King which thou hast given to all men; and which

Them

Themſelves Pertinatiouſly chalenge to themſelves: while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their Priviledges.

To thee I make my ſupplication, who canſt guid us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts: and other mens propoſals, which I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie inwait to afflict me

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own ſinfull paſſions cloud, or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions.

Let thy glorie be my end; thy word my rule; and then thy will be done.

I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happie to pleaſe thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdom of the world fooliſhneſſe, and takeſt in their own devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits, make me wiſe by thy truth, for thy Honour, my Kingdoms general good, and my own Souls ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The leſſe wiſdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdom directing me, while I denie nothing fit to be granted out of croſneſſe, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconſiderate advancing any mens deſigns, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my conſent.

Nor let me be any occaſion to hinder or defraud the Publick of what is beſt, by any moroſe or perverſe diſcentings.

Make me ſo humbly charitable, as to follow their adviſe, when it appears to be for the Publick good: of whoſe affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to aſſure me.

Thou canſt as well bleſſe honeſt errours, as blaſt fraudulent counſels.

Since we must give an account of every evil
Idle word in private, at thy Tribunal; Lord
me carefull of those solemn declarations of
mind, which are like to have the greatest in
upon the Publick, either for wo, or weal.

The lesse others consider what they Ask,
me the more solicitous what I Answer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples pressures
grievous, and Peace would be very pleasing;
Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one, or purch
the other, with the least expense or waste of
Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, only art
Master than my self.

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12 *Upon the Rebellion and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudde
and so violent, that it was hard at first th
to discern the rise, or apply a remedie to that
cipitant Rebellion.

Indeed that sea of bloud which hath there b
cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to dro
any man in eternal both infamie and misery
whom God shall find the malicious Author
Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappie advantage to
mens malice against me; that when they had
pudence enough to lay any thing to my charg
this bloudie opportunitie should be offered th
with which I must be aspersed: Although th
was nothing which could be more abhorred
me being so full of sin against God, disloyalty
my Self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed,
they affirmed, that what the *Irish* Rebels did
done with my privitie (at least,) if not by my Co
mission: But these knew too well, that it
news for some of my Subjects to fight, not
without my Commision, but against my Com
and Person too, yet all the while to pretend

fight by my Authoritie, and for my Safetie.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt need be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, than thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandal, and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent Trials, either of my Patience under them, or my Pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquiſite malice, they have mixed the gall and vinager of ſatſitie and contempt, with the cup of Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt content, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and bloud of my own Subjects, in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies as much as ſome mens perturbations: Who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor ſo cunningly as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and wherof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſtrous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeveritie, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not prediſpoſed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where deſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted expreſſions; it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion,

a people prone enough to break out to all exe-
tant violence, both by some principles of the
Religion, and the natural desires of Libertie, bo
to exempt themselves from their present restrai
and to prevent those after rigours, wherew
they saw themselves apparently threatened, by th
covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of so
men, who think it a great Argument of th
truth of their Religion to endure no other b
their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash m
hands in Innocencie, as to any guilt in that Re-
bellion; so I might wash them in my Tears, as
the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread
far, and make such waste. And this in a time wh
distractions and jealousies here in *England* ma
most men rather intent to their own safetie, or d
signs they were driving, than to the relief of tho
who were every day inhumanely butchered i
Ireland: Whose tears and bloud might, if nothi
else, have quenched, or, at least, for a time repre-
sed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissen-
ons and jealousies, which in *England* some m
most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been lesse affect
with *Irelands* sad estate than my self; I offer
to go my self in Person upon that expedition; b
some men were either afraid I should have
one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to sho
at any mark here lesse than my self; or that m
should have the glorie of my destruction, b
themselves Had my manie offers been accepte
I am confident, neither the ruin had been so gre
nor the calamitie so long; nor the remedie so de-
sperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who beg
that Rebellion theirs must needs be, who e
hindered the speedie suppressing of it by Do
stick dissensions, or diverted the Aids, or exa
rated the Rebels to the most desperate resolu-
ons and actions, by threatening all extremi
not onely to the known Heads and chief Incen-
aries, but even to the whole communitie of th

Nati

Nation; Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children, without any regard to those usual pleas for mercie, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecilitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which prepostorous, and (I think) unevangelicall Zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge than to call for fire from heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all Extremities which might drive men desperate to obstinacie, than to applie moderate Remedies: such as might punish some with exemplarie Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercie upon their submission, and Our protection of them, from the furie of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmnesse; and had rather be cruel than counted cold, and is not seldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens Estates being more beneficiall, than the charitie of saving their Lives, or reforming their errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant partie there to get them some respit and breathing by a Cessation, without which they saw no probabilitie (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that businesse, by per-

persons of Honour and Integritie; that so I might neither incourage the Rebels Insolencie, nor discourage the Protestants Loialtie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then again to suffer in my Reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respit could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safetie; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* sad condition more to heart, and laid aside those violent motions which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let bloud than to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of mine Actions, (which are prone to find more credulitie in men to what is false, and evil, than love and charitie to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his Omniscience, who does not therefore denie mine Innocence, because he pleased so far to trie my patience, as he did his servant *Jobs*.

I have enough to do to look to mine own Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a *King*; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproches, which issue out of some mens mouths and hearts, as easily as smoke and sparks do out of a fornace; Much lesse to make much prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depths of wickednesse, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kingly to do well and hear ill: if I can but act the one, I shall much regard to bear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience, as base as my worst Enemies can falsly say. And, I hope

shall still do better than they desire or deserve should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil mine other Kingdoms are in great part guiltie, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not-timely stopping those horrid effusions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever mine Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of mine other Kingdoms, exhausted out of mine own veins; no man being so much weakened by it, as my self; And hope, though mens unsatiable Cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length say to his Justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: his mercifull Justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O My God, let those infinite Mercies prevent us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou knest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion as if we could not be Christians unless we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in Charitie, thou hast suffered a spirit of errour and bitternesse, of mutual and mortal hatred to rise among us.

O Lord; forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance be our Recoverie, as our great sins have been our Ruin.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgements; for thou never punishest small failings, with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sins, & remove thy judgements, which are very many, and very heavie.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, than

thy

thy judgements; and make us more willing t
pent, than to be relieved; first give us the
of penitent Consciences, and then the tro
of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviours Bloud drown o
and through this red sea of our own bloud
us at last to a state of Pietie, Peace, and P

As my publick relations to all make m
in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me
pious sence of them, as becomes a Christian
and a loving Father of my People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproches
on me be as a breath, more to kindle my
passion; Give me grace to heap charitable
fire upon their heads to melt them, whose
or cruel zeal hath kindled, or hindered
quenching of those flames, which hath so
wasted my three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protest
Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved:

And lead those in the waies of thy
Truths whose Ignorance or Errours have
them with rebellious and destructive Prin
which they act under an opinion, That th
thee good service.

Let the hand of thy Justice be against thos
maliciously and despitefully have raised
mented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the in
with the guiltie, and the erronious with th
licious; thou that hadst pitie on *Nineveh*
many children that were therein, give no
the whole stock of that populous and
Nation, to the wrath of those, whose cov
nesse makes them cruel; nor to their anger,
is too fierce, and therefore Justly cursed.

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst
fornace of thy severe justice, a Posteritie
may praise thee for thy Mercie;

And deal with me, not according to
just reproches, but according to the inno
my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the

day of my Kingdoms calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloudie Distractions; then let thy hand be against me and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integritie, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well; but I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and be not angrie with us for ever.

14 *Upon the calling in of the* Scots, *and their coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignitie, and Bountie, with my Father of blessed memorie; but also special and late obligations of favours having gratified the active Spirits among them so far that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Partie, before my own Interest and Honour. But, I see, Royal bountie emboldens some men to rise, and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

My charitie, and act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be fer from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancie make me repent of what I granted them for the Publick good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that partie into *England*, with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late new Model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in Goudie Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will ju
the use of such violent means before the div
Justice, I leave to their consciences to judge. wh
have already felt the miserie of the means but n
reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kin
dom, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of grain being ob
jected here, as will hardly suffer that form wh
they crie up, as the onely just Reformation, a
settling of Government and Disciplin in Church
es, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do
Scotland: and was by them imagined would ha
done in *England*; when so many of the Eng
Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no wo
passion, suddenly quitted their former engag
ments to Episcopacie, and faced about to th
Presbyterie.

It cannot but se m either Passion, or some
seeking, more than true Zeal, and pious Dis
tion for any forreign State, or Church, to p
scribe such medicines onely for others, wh
themselves have used, rather successefully th
commendably; not considering that the s
Physick on different constitutions, will have
ferent operations; That it may kill one, wh
doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and m
nant humours in the constitution of the En
Church, which gentler Applications than tho
an Armie, might not easily have removed: Not
so proper to hew our religious Reformations
the Sword, as to polish them by fair and
disputations among those that are most concer
in the differences, whom not Force, but R
ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to c
all disputation here, than to procure a fair
equal one: For, it was concluded there, th
English Clergie must conform to the *Scots* p
tern, before ever they could be heard what
could say for themselves, or against the
way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings

for their credits, who urge things with such violence, and for other mens consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the field, than Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Surely in matters of Religion, those Truths gain most on mens judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who, being alwaies bred up and conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely because that Partie of the *Scots* will needs, by force, assist a like partie here, either to drive all Ministers as Sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the *Scots* sole Presbyterie were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Governments; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdoms without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles payed to the chief Governours of States, where they lived is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set such a partie of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianitie that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions runs

in a ſtream ſo contrarie to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Chriſtianitie and Epiſcopacie which was with patient ſhedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; ſure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetouſneſſe or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point which thoſe *Scots* had by Armie or Commiſſioners to move me with, by their many Solemn obteſtations, and pious threatenings, but only this, to repreſent to me the wonderfull neceſſitie of ſetting up their Preſbyterie in *England*, to avoid the further miſeries of a War; which ſome men chiefly on this deſign at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schiſmes, or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunitie may not, according to this opinion and pattern, ſet up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Preſbyterie ſeeks to ſuppreſſe, and render odious under thoſe names; when wiſe and learned men think that nothing hath more marks of Schiſme and Sectariſme, than this Preſbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſall way of the Church-Government; and eſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rational and Religious motives, than Souldiers uſe to carrie in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many waies (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and furie of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe Rules of true Reaſon and peaceable Wiſdom, which is from above tending moſt to God's glorie, and his Churches good; which I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious

judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the glorie of Christ above mine own; and the salvation of mens souls above the preservation of their bodies and estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the molds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens Consciences, by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyal; shall never either shake or unsettle my *Religion*; nor any mans else, who knows what *Religion* means: And how far it is removed from all Faction; whose proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and Loyal Subjects, in matters of *Religion*.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their Opinions; especially those that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: than I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certaintie of some divine *Revelation*; considering they were more than competently furnished with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition, my Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the justifiablenesse of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carrie their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People; what cannot be justified in Law or *Religion*, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancie that attends all minds engaged in violent motions, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoon after are wearie of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one partie thought to river to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more than charitable, aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly, will at length be diſcovered, through all the films and pretentions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſigns; In vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruins of Loyaltie. Nor can thoſe conſiderations or deſigns be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from me, in a prodigalitie of their love and reſpects toward me, as to make me to deſpair of their return; when, beſides the bonds of Nature and Conſcience, which they have to me, all Reaſon and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſſe to any part of the People, to a neglect and betraying of my Safetie and Honour for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

The

The troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious ſimplicitie, which is the beſt policie.

Deliver me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents Subtilitie, that they forget the Doves Innocencie.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail againſt my Soul, to the betraying of my Conſcience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of *Judah* and *Iſrael* to reſtore *David* with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconſtancie and cagerneſſe purſue him.

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſſe in me, and I ſhall not deſpair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O my God I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not my enemies triumph over me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute my Soul.

Let integritie and uprightneſſe preſerve me for I waiſon thee O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

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14 *Upon the Covenant.*

The *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinarie rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them, by a Solemn *League* and *Covenant*:

Where many engines of religious and fair pretenſions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacie; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely ad-

ed, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemn a charm and exorciſme be caſt out of this Church, after more than a thouſand years poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianitie in this Iſland, and an univerſall preſcription of time and practiſe in all other Churches, ſince the Apoſtles times till this laſt Centurie.

But no Antiquitie muſt plead for it, Preſbyterie, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Biſhops chair and Authoritie (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacie, and lanch Preſbyterie in *England*; which was lately Boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to my ſelf with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſciplin and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſſe, than ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no clear moral neceſſitie; but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement and certaintie in ones ſelf, or that charitie and candour to others of different opinion, as I thing Religion requires, which never refuſes fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſarie duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken

taken, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid ſnares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly pious Stratagems, they think to keep the populacie faſt to their parties under the terrour of perjurie: whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former Ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Partie, without my conſent, or without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans Laws, be ever thought, by judicious men, ſufficient either to abſolve or ſliken thoſe moral and eternal Bonds of Dutie which lie upon all my Subjects conſciences both to God and me.

Yet, as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull waies: ſince I have the charitie to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was to preſerve Religion in puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other than ſuch ends and means they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches of Conſcience endeavour to carrie on the beſt Deſigns, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious,) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous dangerous and un-authorized Novelties before their known and ſworn Duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and my ſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way

of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, That they are the common Road, uſed in all Factions and powerfull Perturbations of State or Church; Where Formalities of extraordinarie Zeal and Pietie are never more ſtudied and elaborate, than when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate Deſigns againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wreſted by ſecret ſteps and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to complie with the humours of thoſe men, who aim to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of holy Combinations.

Which cords and wyths will hold mens conſciences no longer, than force attends and twiſts them: for every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe Ties, which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the ſubtiltie and terrour of a Partie caſts upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after ligaments they find the Impoſers really aiming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former juſt and neceſſarie Obligations.

Indeed ſuch illegal waies ſeldom or never intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Deſign intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, though divers contrarie; with any Salvoes, Cautions, and Reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not the chief Deſign, which is laid againſt the Church and me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Parties; ſo little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to Act clearly against all Pietie and Loialtie: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it.

Wherein, the latitude of some general Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully you may, in their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for these (indeed) carrie no man beyond those Bounds of good Conscience, which are certain and fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the General; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom as to the Particular Regulation and Exercise of mens Duties.

I would to God such as glorie most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull Bounds, to which God hath called them: surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it; which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful Authoritie at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such Bounds of Pietie, Law, and Loialtie, as can never hurt either the Church, my Self, or the publick Peace: Against which no mans lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partial advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to sudden acting and compliance contrarie to their former judgements, profession, and practice) such foul Scandals and Suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning

learning and candour at home: all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than my self to carrie on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advise) be, by Gods Word, and right reason convinced to be amisse; I have offered more than the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens Actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended is, The abasing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, than the Bishops and Church-men. These as the fattest Deer, must be destroied; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, *&c.* being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vine-yard made him the onely Blasphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their Course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with my consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of my Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other Additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* Divinitie and *Joseph's* true Pietie abhorred to do; So unjust I think it both in the

cie of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred Employment of all due Encouragements; and like the other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encreaſe the Taſk; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done to the Red Sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either it or him, who eſteems it his greateſt Title to be called, and his chiefeſt glorie to be, *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring Sacrilege and Apoſtacie.*

I had rather live as my Predeceſſour *Henry* the ſecond ſometime did on the Churches Alms, than violently to take, the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboams* Reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe golden *Calves* who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuſe the envie and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad Conſequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſſe than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe Miſchiefs whoſe Occaſions and Remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are waies enough to repair the Breaches of the State without the Ruins of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an Oppreſſour of the other under the pretence

of

of Publick Debts: The Occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessarie to either.

TO thee, O Lord, do I addresse my praier, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable Bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences, From which no pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrarie Practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou allowest no mans committing Sacrilege under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious Designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught Us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holie, and after Vows to make enquirie.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all Posteritie of robbing Thee & thy Church, of what thy bountie hath given us, and thy clemencie hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treasures are exhausted, my Revenues diminished, and my Debts encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience, as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens follie and prodigalitie hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue

Continue to thoſe that ſerve thee and thy Church all thoſe incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the juſtice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerve and uſe them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That the Prieſts may be clothed with righteouſneſſe, and the Poor may be ſatisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to dogs; rather let them go about the Citie, grin like a dog, and grudge that they are not ſatisfied.

Let thoſe ſacred morſels, which ſome men have alreadie by violence devoured, neither digeſt with them nor theirs; Let them be as *Naboths* Vine-yard to *Ahab*, gall in their mouths, rottenneſſe to their Names, a moth to their Families and a ſting to their Conſciences.

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandied together againſt the Church and State; that the folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarrie.

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15 *Upon the many Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the* KING, *to ſtir up the People againſt him.*

IF I had not mine own innocencie, and Gods protection, it were hard for me to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtrategems and conflicts of malice, which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſſe the Truth; and by Jealouſies to ſupply the defect of Real cauſes, which might ſeem to juſtifie ſo unjuſt engagements againſt me. And

And indeed, the worſt effects of open Hoſtilitie come ſhort of theſe Deſigns: For I can more willingly loſe my Crowns, than my Credit; nor are my Kingdoms ſo dear to me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe muſt have a period with my life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kind of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Poſteritie.

Thoſe foul and falſe Aſperſions were ſecret Engins at firſt employed againſt my Peoples love of me: that undermining their opinion and value of me, mine Enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein yet I thank God, the detriment of my Honour is not ſo afflictive to me, as the ſin and danger of my Peoples Souls, whoſe eies once blinded with ſuch miſts of Suſpicions, they are ſoon miſled into the moſt deſperate precipices of Actions; wherein they do not onely not conſider their ſin and danger, but glorie in their zealous Adventures; while I am rendered to them ſo fit to be deſtroied, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Deſtroiers; Imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my pitie was above mine anger; nor have my paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt me, as to exclude my moſt compaſſionate Praiers for them, whom devout Errours more than their own malice have betraied to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that moſt part of my Subjects fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errours not my Perſon; and intended to Mend me, not to End me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared me, both to do him better ſervice, and my People more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loial Injuries, than I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to mine own Affections toward the generalitie of my People, to suspect theirs to me; nor shal the malice of mine Enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort, which that confidence gives me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced. The worst some mens Ambition can do, shall never perswade me, to make so bad interpretations of most of my Subjects Actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loialtie.

The sense of the Injuries done to my Subjects is sharp, as some done to my self; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more than my self, that they are animated by some Seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of mine Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such Instruments, that mine afflictions grieve me not more, than this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been mine open and forreign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be mine own Subjects, who are next to my Children, dear to me: And for the restoring of whose tranquilitie, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided interest of their and mine Enemies, as by contrarie Winds the Storm of their Miseries would be rather increased than allaied.

I had rather prevent my Peoples ruin than Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but my Right, as of their happinesse; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest Injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the Miseries of life, and die

die many deaths than ſhameſully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray mine own juſt Rights and Sovereigntie; thereby to gratifie the ambition or juſtifie the malice of mine Enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Noveltie, and the Leproſie of Diſloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good Inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancie, and what their reproches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and my charitie to forgive, than my leiſure to anſwer the many falſe Aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon me.

Did I not more conſider my Subjects Satisfaction, than mine own Vindication, I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure as to ſee me take notice of, or remember what they ſay, or object.

I would leave the Authours to be puniſhed by their own evil manners, and ſeared conſciences, which will, I believe, in a ſhorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe Scandals, which they have caſt on Me; And make the World ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broching of them, or civilitie, (I need not ſay Loyaltie) in the not ſuppreſsing of them; whoſe credit and reputation even with the People, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that fornace of popular obloquie, and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of infamie, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume my Name and Honour.

Firſt, nothing gave me more cauſe to ſuſpect, and ſearch mine own Innocencie; than when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſsions of ſingular pietie; For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon

upon me, and my Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to me and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of me, and not to Blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent to be at once Loyal to me, and truly *Religious* toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with me, which were both Learned and *Religious*, (much above that ordinarie ſize and that vulgar proportion wherein ſome men glorie ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of my ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with me, than forſake me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo *Religious* Pretenſions as were uſed againſt me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamours and activitie.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize me and mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as falſe.

I thank God I have had more trial of his Grace, as to the conſtancie of my *Religion* in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquitie, will not give my Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon me, and my People.

Con-

Contrarie to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever by Gods help persevere, in believing it hath most of Primitive Truth in Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists, which were my Subjects, any way fight against my *Religion*, as some men would needs interpret it: especially to those who least of all men cared whom they imployed or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, that differences of perswasion in matters of *Religion* may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of Dutie, Allegiance, and Subjection. The first they ow as men, and Christians to God; the second, they ow tome in Common as their *King*; different professions in point of *Religion* cannot (any more than in civil Trades) take away the Communitie of relations either to parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various *Religions* in the World again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was indeed, a foul and indelible shame for such as would be counted Protestants, to inforce me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessarie use of Papists, or any other, who did but their dutie to help me to defend my self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in me, (and very pleasing no doubt

doubt to my enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in my Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men, no lesse than their prayers as Christians.

The noise of my Evil Counsellours was another sleight device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving me better counsel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or Honour as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred down, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties my self, or my Councellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more repairable by second and better thoughts, than those enormious extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to my Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that my worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer me, or my self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either me, or my Subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorrie to see me prone even to injure my self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon me, my Court, and my Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous

Per-

Perſecutours) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, than be revenged; ſo as to be bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw my peoples affections from me, to their deſigns was, the noiſe and oſtantation of Libertie, which men are not more prone to deſire, than unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe; which is to do what every man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt Libertie be to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws, and Religion, I envie not my Subjects that Libertie, which is all I deſire to injoy my ſelf; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentle-men which aſſiſted me ſo prodigal of their Liberties as with their Lives and Fortunes, to help on the inſlaving of themſelves and their Poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their ambitious and covetous deſigns over the ruins of Church and State, Prince, Peers and People, will ever deſire greater Freedom than the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its rule and direction; loſing juſtly his Safetie while he ſeeks an unreaſonable Libertie.

Time will beſt inform my Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true Libertie who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, That it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects Libertie, who have the hardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane,

mine; under which, yet, I will rather periſh than complain to thoſe who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humilitie and meekneſſe, not with proud & arrogant activitie, which ſeeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire my Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Sovereintie, which is the onely King of mens conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as command them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men libertie to break the Law eſtabliſhed further than with meekneſſe and patience they are content to ſuffer the penaltie annexed, rather than perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull eſtates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproches, which impotent malice can invent; and my ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſtie of a King, and increaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as mine Innocencie is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; ſo my Reputation ſhall, like the Sun (after owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendor, as thoſe feral birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than thoſe whom God hath ſuffered to be tried in the fornace of afflicions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and merciſull God will do me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe,

and

and evil ſpeeches againſt me; wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, than what they believe or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honour, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) than thoſe men do who pretending to ſo much pietie, are ſo forgetfull of their Dutie to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſtie of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God, and holie Angels, *ſpeak evil of Dignities and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe* who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing GOD, ſhould not honour their *King*

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſtie in compariſon of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obſcuritie; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authoritie and ſacred Power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black vails be able to hide the ſhining of my face while God gives me an heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true Glorie and Majeſtie.

THOU O Lord, knoweſt my reproch, and my diſhonour, mine Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among lions, among them that are ſet on fire, even the ſons of men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine Enemies reproch me all the day long and thoſe that are mad againſt me are ſworn together.

O my God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turn my glorie into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanitie and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt mine Enemies prevail againſt me, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies: the Lord will abhor both bloud-thirſtie, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteouſneſſe to appear as the light, and mine innocencie to ſhine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my ſilence to betray mine innocence, nor my diſpleaſure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being curſed by them, I may bleſſe them.

Thou that would'ſt not ſuffer *Shimeis* tongue to go unpuniſhed; when by thy judgements on *David* he might ſeem to juſtifie his diſdainfull reproches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercie for theſe mine Enemies, that the reward of falſe and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire may not be brought upon them.

Let my praiers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already ſet on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with thoſe malicious flames.

Let me be happie to refute, and put to ſilence their evil ſpeaking by well doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my praier for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me *Davids* patience, and *Hezekiahs* devotion, that I may look to thy mercie through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſin.

Let *Shebas* ſeditious ſpeeches, *Rabſhekahs* railing, and *Shimeis* curſing provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſsing toward me.

Though they curſe, do thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſsing to my People.

That the ſtone, which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave me, from the reproch of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

16 *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of *Reformations* in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinarie parts, and pietie, must needs undo whatever was formerly setled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that studie Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of Praier and Devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converse with the divine Majestie) nothing could be more plausible to the People than to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Forms of constant Praiers must be not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but) wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their consciences, and the Laws in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporarie vein and fluencie: or others, who conscious to their own formalitie in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what prophane Objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the Doctrin

of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing Set and Preſcribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholſom words being known and fitted to mens underſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carrie along with them judicious and fervent Actions.

Nor do I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a well-compoſed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Conſtancie abates nothing of the Excellencie and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any reaſon, why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of Praier, ſince he praies to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame Duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily Wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? Our appetite and digeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread*.

Some men, I hear are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their Devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the Warrant and original Pattern of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of varietie for expreſſions in publick Prayer, or any ſacred Adminiſtrations, merits a greater brand of ſin, than that which they call coldneſſe and barrenneſſe: nor are men in thoſe Novelties

leſſe ſubject to formal and ſuperficial tempers (as to their hearts) than in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame. I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the moſt extemporatie varietie; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted Expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of varietie, than of conſtancie: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayers more likely to ſlat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and Devotion, than unpremeditated and confuſed varietie to diſtract, and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions, yet I know no neceſſitie why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men, ſuch, as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling to compoſe with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of Prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very Life and Soul of Prayer, and that ſo much pretented Spirit of Prayer) than any private man by his ſolitarie abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affections, emptineſſe, impertinencie, rudeneſſe, confuſion, flatneſſe, levitie, obſcuritie, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous Expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men but thoſe who glorie in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay in things of ſo

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fiered a nature before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in Duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental Adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the Duties as Forms of publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new Expreſſions when the Subject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, or order, and gravitie, becoming thoſe Duties; which by this means at every celebration to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errours, diſorders, and defects, both for judgement and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans ſeveral manner of officiating, no doubt firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and pietie of the ancient Churches, to remedie thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of publick compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappie fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance and confident defects, ſhall be diſcovered in more errours, ſchiſmes, diſorders, and uncharitable Diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pitie.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in and abet thoſe Innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbids, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partial ſeveritie of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service Book; or refuſed to uſe it, cried out of the rigour of Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the Libertie of their Conſcience, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgie into a Directorie, as if the Spirit needed help for invention though not for expreſsions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to, fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeveritie as not to ſuffer without penaltie, any to uſe the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Conſciences bind them to it, as a Dutie of Pietie to God, and obedience to the Laws. Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous Actours upon others to conform to their illegal Novelties than ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of Lawfull Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended conſcientious Liberties, which Freedom, with much regret they now allow to me, and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to ſerve me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporarie way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſtie and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned and ſober Debates, leſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driven either to ſin more againſt their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſe ſome Faction of the People by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believe they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtates, but for their weightie and judicious pietie than thoſe are, whoſe weakneſſe or gidineſſe they ſought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greateſt faults ſome men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe was this, That it taught them to pray ſo oft for me; for which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to ſay, *Amen*; nor yet Charitie enough to forbear

bear Reproches, and even Curſing of me in their own Forms in ſtead of Praying for me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their onely puniſhment; that, ſeeing the Miſchiefs which diſuſe of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms of ſound and wholſom words.

AND thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God. bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of varietie, and yet of conſtancie; thou denieſt us not a new and freſh ſenſe of our old and daily wants; nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſsions.

Let us not want the benefits of thy Churches united and well adviſed Devotions.

Let the matters of our Prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the ſame, and the fervencie of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us,

And then we doubt not but thy ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious Conſtancie of our Petitions in them both.

Whoſe varietie or conſtancie thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the pietie and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor the opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Errours conſiſts in novelтie and varietie, as Truths in unitie and conſtancie: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with Errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of varietie and novelтie. Not to be deprived of truth, unitie and

order, under this fallacie, that constancie is the cause of formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal hipocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee with *David*, (and other holy men) in the same form cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us and there will be lesse to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

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17 *Of the Differences between the* King *and the two Houses in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching *Goverment* of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of Pietie, as Policie, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such a dependance on him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues, who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by the Oratorie to let in, or shut out both Peace and Loyaltie.

So that being (as KING) intrusted by God and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion that I encline to them for any use to be made

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of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthie to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charitie be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my Judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and proposed them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give me leave having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the Government of Bishops (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new waies: contrarie to the full and constant testimonie of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly Governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charitie be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their Divine and holy Pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any setled Church wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishops above them, under whose Jurisdiction and Government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture directions and examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Go-

vernment being that, which the Church can no more diſpence with, in point of wel-being, than the want of the Word and Sacraments in point of being)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authoritie as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of them, and Apoſtolical conſtitution: which to me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authoritie in them as Preſident, Biſhops above others in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other Acts of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, than thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Preſbyters, Biſhops and Deacons are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and Communitie of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Biſhops*; as to the over-ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles or thoſe Apoſtolical Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinarie power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Preſbyters.

The humilitie of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles as a name in the Churches ſtile apropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpeciall dignitie which had extraordinarie call, miſſion, gifts and power immediatly from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinarie titles of Biſhops and Preſbyters, untill uſe, (the great arbitrator of words, and Maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office indeed were diſtinct from and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinarie and conſtant power of Governing the Churches, the Honour of (whoſe name they modeſtly, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches ſubmitting to that ſpeciall authoritie, appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpition or reproch of arrogancie, to thoſe who were by Apoſtoli-

ſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of Governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which without all doubt had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as from Divine right) than are the characters of theſe perilous times and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who not enduring ſound doctrine, and clear teſtimonies of all Churches practiſe, are moſt perverſe Diſputers and proud Uſurpers against true Epiſcopacie: who, if they be not Traytours and boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, little of the power of Godlineſſe.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to overlay and ſmother the pregnancie and authoritie of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Poſteritie may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical examples, whereon my judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any policie of State, or obſtinacie of will, or partialitie of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed me: who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to me as to recompence the injuries and loſſes, I, and my deareſt Relations with my Kingdoms, have ſuſtained, and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt Rule, and the Churches Univerſal practiſe the beſt Commentarie; but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot

be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianitie, than it is in all secular and civil Governments, where paritie breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion than good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers, who have as much of the Principles of schism and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve Order and Union with Authoritie.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and pietie of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which authoritie they constantly used and enjoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidencie and Authoritie in one man, by the joynt counsel and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those errours, corruptions, and partialities, which are incident to any one man; also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavie on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, than such a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magisterial; and wherein not onely the necessitie of avoiding Fa-

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ction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function: but also the differences of some Ministers gifts and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to employ them, in reference to those abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of mine touching Episcopacie, any preoccupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie my self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have as far lesse of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason, so for examples, and practise of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late Reformed Churches (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessitie of times and afairs rather excuseth than commendeth for their inconformitie to all Antiquitie; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and Governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather than to the Catholick example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more than Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: All whom the Churches in my three Kingdoms lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-Government; whom though you shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick,

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Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtrayed from the Unity and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Preſbyters.

Beſides, the late general approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laity of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my Judgement; and their inconſtancie is a great prejudice againſt their noveltie; I cannot in charitie ſo far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrarie to their Conſciences; ſo that their facilitie and levitie is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-Government had any face and impartial debate contrarie to their former Oaths and practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt my conſent, have not onely quite cried down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops; and many other Church-men, of all their due Authoritie and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſticall uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo totall change, little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the deſertours of Epiſcopacie will appear the greateſt enemies to, and betrayers of their own intereſt: for Preſbyterie is never ſo conſiderable or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. All Miniſters will find as great a difference in point of thriving, betwern the favour of the People and Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſe they are;

ate, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon Function, the faults of times or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practice, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authoritie, Civil Honour and Estate, which my Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countreys have annexed to Bishops and Churchmen; I look upon them but as just rewards of their learning, and pietie, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authoritie in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much as by that of their Estates; Povertie and meanesse exposing them and their Authoritie to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which persecuting times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthie of those incouragements, and be ablest to use them: If at any time my Judgement of men failed, my good intention made my errour venial: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian partie, which makes all Ministers equal; and the Independent In-

inferioritie, which sets their Pastors below the People

This for my Judgement touching Episcopacy: wherein, God knows, I do not gratifie any design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force me their KING and Sovereign, as some men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of my Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided Novelties. The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I do, That the Church should be Governed as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy and solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a Citie or Countrey; or else they denie these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being necessary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superioritie, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyal passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenus, hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to me is no lesse sin, than Sacrilege

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or a robberie of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtian; (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by me.

But being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that to which I am ſworn; How can any man that wiſheth not my damnation, perſwade me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledge and Perjurie? beſides the many perſonal Injuſtices I muſt do to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any, who ſeek to deprive them: and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelyhoods.

I have often wondered how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell me, that my Coronation-Oath binds me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preſerve, and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade me, That I muſt, and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of my Oath, which binds me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange my Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both my ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unrea-

reasonable, as being against the very natural and essential liberty of our souls; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause wherein I think my self justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly I have been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and Sacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with me) both Church and State, in civil dissentions; till I shall be forced, to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knows) I utterly dislike, and in my soul abhor; as many waies highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion; and whereto if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give my consent, yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided interest and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Scots in point of Church-Government be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for me to consent to the like in my other Kingdoms: For it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in my judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yielding to them, as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced in that point: Nor indeed hath my yielding to them been so happy and successefull as to encourage me to grant the the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might suspect my judgement to be biassed, or fore-stalled with some prejudice and wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of those men, that I cannot from them

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gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) either Learning, or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flourished, beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms (by Gods blessing) which might make me believe either Presbyterie or independencie have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacie in its right constitution.

The abuses of which deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained. for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquitie, than to comply with divided Noveltie.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyrannie pitie, nor popularitie; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integritie both of my Judgement and Conscience I hope God will preserve me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tenderneſſe: as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, so suffer me not, by any violence, to be overthrone against my Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause; let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envie; which seeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritane, compassionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed, others passe by without regard either to pitie, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my conſcience as a Chriſtian.

Preſerve, from Sacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporal bleſſings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſins and errours: who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wild Boar and ſubtil Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vine-yard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of heaven ſo long watered to a happie and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſteritie of being the firſt Chriſtian KING in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with *Conſtantine*, cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe, than expoſe their perſons and ſacred Functions to vulgar contempts.

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church: make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreaſonable men, whoſe counſels have brought forth and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the antient boundaries of thy Churches Peace, thereby letting in all manner of errours, ſchiſmes, and diſorders.

O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy Salvation, even before the ſons of men.

18 *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other offers made by the* KING.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fihgting like Beasts, to argeing like men; whose ſtrength will be more in their underſtandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could ſeldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it: having greater confidence of my Reaſon, than my Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yield to the firſt, that I thought neither my ſelf, nor others ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a deminution of me, to prevent them with expreſſes of my deſires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon than Force, but alſo of Chriſtianity to ſeek Peace and enſue it.

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend my ſelf with Arms, ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing and late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſſe I had, ever enhaunce with me the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by me as any man; though I was like to Pay dearer for it than any man: All that I fought to reſerve was, mine Honour, and my Conſcience, the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of any happy compoſure; had others applied themſelves to it with the ſame moderation I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience would give me leave, nor

nor were the remaining differences so essential to my Peoples happinesse; or of such consequence, as in the least kind to have hindered my Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyned both, many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which: to deny, I think the greatest justice to my self, and favour to my subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised: some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to losse in War, studied to render the very name of Peace odious and suspected.

In Church afairs, where I had least liberty of Prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me; yet I was willing to condescend so far to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, coveteousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true Zeal, Charity, or love to Reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might seem to advance true Piety; I onely sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government, and what I am perswaded (as I have else where set down my thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the Primitive Apostolick Patterns, and the practice of the Universal Church conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wils and fancies which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against me, must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in me as will rather part with Gods Truth than mans Peace, & rather lose the Churches Honour, than crosse mens Factious humours.

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God knows and time will discover, who were most to blame for the un-successfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I beleeve, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to my People, than the Preservation of my own Crowns to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings, as arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stifnesse when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwayes to ask something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate: as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make me to destroy my self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see how little I would deny, or they grant in order to the pubblick Peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regreet, and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set me not above a Treaty; nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any sign of true valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather than be drawn to produce Our own Reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most Part presage the unsuccessfulnesse of any Treaty, was some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implyed some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonablenesse they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking: and give them grace to make their advantages, gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained, what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou that art the God of Reason & of Peace who disdainest not to Treat with sinners preventing them with offers of atonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them, yet aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for peace but when I speak thereof they make ready for war.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth both in Reason, as Men: and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of war we have deserved and bestow upon us peace which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19 *Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various successes of this unhappy War have at least, afforded the variety of good meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try me with Victorie, by worsting my enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is the onely true

Lord

Lord of Hosts; able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those who sought against me with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part, he let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my Peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my Patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause: and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and me: Nor were my enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that justice by open hostility, which was begun by riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagement; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the Worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of War a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the Justice of any cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with me had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their justification, the Word of God & the Laws of the Land, together with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to my just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of some pretended Fear, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State, being such imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to pledge, who being my Subjects: were manifestly the first assaulters of me and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces:

The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction, that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond, with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Laws and Governours; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them, to a Rebellion againſt them; ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title can with Truth be applied onely to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who, having no advantageous deſigns by any Innovation, were Religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church, and my ſelf, which lay upon their ſouls, both for obedience, and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; The deſtruction of their Bodies being Sanctified, as a means to ſave their Souls.

Their wounds, and Temporal ruin ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happineſſe; while the evident approch of death, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſing their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which, together with the Rectitude of their preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyal fierceneſſe could deprive them of, or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt my ſide in the Field; but never, I believe, at the Bar of Gods Tribunal, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict with, and accuſe them in their own thoughts, than they oft were, in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave me

Whoſe

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinetly more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspitious, or now convicted Consciences doe pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War; and continuing it thus long against me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation, all honest men think the welfare of their Countrey doth consist.

For and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, than to prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might joyn true Piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithfull to God and their own souls, as they were to me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even prefaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any Victory which was without my sorrow, because it was on mine own Subjects; who, like *Absalom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories as might serve to Conquer, but onely Restore the Laws and Liberties of my People; which I saw were extreamly oppressed; together with my Rights, by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied me Victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, than to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over my self. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice. by contrary winds to winow us: That, by punishing our sins he might purge them from us: and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as my former Concessions sufficiently testified how willingly I would have prevented it; and my total unpreparedness for it how little I intended it.

The Conscience of my Innocence forbade me to fear a War; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yielded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the devine Justice to be quiet, we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings to destroy one another: for the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leave our ſins unſubdued; ſluſhing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſireable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſſe againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civil Wars, that I may know better to obey God, and Govern my People and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor doe I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to me, than all of us may be Subject to God.

O My God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf and Enemies by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting, faſhion us to that frame of piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings, which follow our diſaſtrous events, when going forth in our own ſtrength thou with-draweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all when we are ſomething, and when we are nothing; that thou maieſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compel me to inflict upon them; puniſhing my ſelf in their puniſhments.

Since therefore, both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer, I beſeech thee give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which onely can be ſufficient for me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed; that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end

of theſe civil diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm, and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-denial, as becomes thoſe, who conſider that our mutual diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If, O Lord, as for the ſins of our Peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War, ſo for the ſins of War thou ſhouldeſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of Peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet forgive me thy Servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the bloud of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and grief hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence; but waſh me with that pretious bloud, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peacemaker Jeſus Chriſt.

Who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: I know the triumphing of the wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20 *Upon the Reformation of the times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch that the perturbation and noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour me ſo far, as to make me an inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to Reform what the indulgence of

Times

Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſettled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of Reforming: with how much partialitie, and popular compliance, the Paſſions, and Opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick; and the infinite ſcandal of the reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schiſms, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations? what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergie; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of me, have followed, (as ſhowers do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſe, and with my ſelf ſad Spectatours hitherto.

The great miſcariage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publick ſenſe ſo; that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels and endeavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe counſels as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo its like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church affairs, I diſlike not further, than that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*, nor with freedom and impartialitie can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed, to do, and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo many men cried up ſet learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which they knew to be of Apoſtolical inſtitution, at leaſt; as of Primitive and Univerſal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrarie Factions had not by ſecret encrochments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common intereſt and Honour of all the Clergie, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion againſt examples of all ancient Churches the Laws in force, and my conſent; which is never to be gained, againſt ſo pregnant light, as in that point ſhines on my underſtanding.

For I conceive, that, where the Scripture is not ſo clear and punctual in precepts, there the conſtant and univerſal practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or reſtore to Presbytery, what with Reaſon or diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjecture with Epiſcopacie; but for that wholly to invade the Power and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authoritie of that ancient order I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacie, nor ſafe for Presbyterie nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels: and ſuch (I believe) as would have given more content even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravitie and formalitie, to carrie on other mens deſigns, which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular Titles of Chriſts Government

vernment, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through *Reformation*. theſe may as eaſily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be Put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church Windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civil, not *Religious* marks; defacing of Monuments, and inſcriptions of the dead, which ſerved but to put Poſteritie in mind, to thank God, for that clearer light wherein they live; The leaving Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick ſervice of God; where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay, *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their prayers, preaching, and other offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five years conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt principles of Religion.

All theſe and the like are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babes, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glorie of the Churches through Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, than when they began, in point of Pietie, Moralitie, Charitie, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedie the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt, make it their Unanimous

mous work, to do Gods work and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make my self and all my Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meekness, wisdom, and charitie, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glorie, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of Publick Reformations, to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot subsist with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion; for next to *Fear God*, is *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down mine; nor will any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it, since as I own mine from him, so I desire to Rule for his glorie, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against me and one another.

As good ends cannot juſtifie evil means, ſo not will evil beginnings ever bring forth good concluſions; unleſſe God by a miracle of mercie, create Light out of Darkneſſe, Order out of our Confuſions, and Peace out of our Paſſions.

THou, O Lord, who onely canſt give beautie for aſhes, and Truth for Hypocriſie; ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaical waſhings, inſtead of Chriſtian Reformings.

Our greateſt deformities are within, make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt Reformers of our own Souls:

That we may in clearneſſe of judgement, and uprightneſſe of heart be means to Reform what is indeed amiſſe in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bleſſing.

Pitie the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State, Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions, and confuſions, what is the pravitie of ſome mens intentions, and weakneſſe of their judgements; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe, or ſacriledge may have any influence upon their counſels, whom thy providence in juſt and lawfull wayes ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſarie work. That I and my People may be ſo bleſt with inward pietie, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace.

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21 *Upon His Majeſties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of mine Enemies could

hardly have expected; so they knew not how with honour and civilitie to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthie minds any thing in them could tend so much to my reproch, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Virtue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemie, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon Us by them, from whom We could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my Papers; The freedom and secretsie of which, commands a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publick view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I studie to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world without any of those dresses, or popular captations; which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love and care I have not more to preserve my own Rights than to procure their Peace and Happinesse, and that extream grief to see them both deceived, and destroyed.

Nor can any mans malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to see my constancie to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie where the Spider sucks Poyson.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Commonwealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happie if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how some mens designs like *Absaloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences and exasperate all sides to such distances as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I cannot onely with patience bear

bear this, as other indignities: but with Charitie forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expreſſions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit of greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters which may be lyable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of my chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more than a happy Compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to my own then my peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by thoſe my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my own, and my Kingdoms affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of evil Counſellours.

It's probable ſome men will now look upon me as my own Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own Conſcience which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivitie to themſelves, not allowing me to think their Counſels to be other than good for me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt me.

The Victorie they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glorie among the Vulgar; with whom proſperitie gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſitie expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſreſpect: As if good fortune were alwayes the ſhadow of Virtue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and de-

p[illegible]nds chiefly upon the reputation with the vul-
gar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again so as to recover mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdoms: First, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to *Reign*; By exquisite methods of cunning and crueltie, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wils and designs of men; He is able and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more than so many papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to *Religion*) besides that of respect and honour, which they ow to their KING, present, and after times will judge. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine approbation of such indecent actions if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness, which *Noah*, Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servants of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable acti-

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ons to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excuſable, or proſperous; who thought by this means to expoſe me, to the higheſt reproch and contempt of my People; forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Countrey, in caſe they had diſcovered any real uncomelyneſſe; which I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendered me as a Vile Perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered, under any notion of Majeſtie.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affairs, make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of mine enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of *Ahithophel*, turning it to *Davids* good, and his own ruin: ſo canſt thou defeat their deſign, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious and contemtible to my People.

I muſt firſt appeal to thy omniſcience, who canſt witneſſe with mine integritie, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt me, ſo to return on their own heads, that they may be aſhamed, and covered with their own confuſion, as with a cloak.

Thou ſeeſt how mine enemies uſe all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purpoſes, and ſlander the foot-ſteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be diſhonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majestie which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me the Crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majestie; make me to partake of thy Excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majestie, which becomes the place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord by thy Grace, lead me to thy Glorie, which is both true and eternal.

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22 *Upon His Majestie leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

Although God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in these he hath not now left me any place, where I may with Safetie and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much as to God, he will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affairs upon his mercie, who hath both heart and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessitie is now my Counsellour, and Commands me to studie my safetie by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This

This my confidence of them, may dis-arm and overcome them; my rendering my Person to them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt me, but for me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyaltie: and give them opportunitie to let the world ſee, they mean not what they do, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be my chiefeſt Guard; and my Conſcience both my Counſellour and my Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve my Soul to God, and my ſelf; nor ſhall any neceſſities compel me, to deſert mine Honour, or ſwerve from my Judgement.

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſual confidence of them: as may make them aſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deprive me of all Militarie power to defend my ſelf; but to put me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt me, yet ought in dutie to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafetie, and their ſafeti in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe, that have Adhered to me and apply to thoſe that have oppoſed me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous than that of War both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for my Friends ſafetie, than mine own; chuſing to venture my ſelf upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is ſome ſkill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to give over, than to contend in vain.

I muſt now ſtudie to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reaſon and Religion, that I may not ſeem to offer up my Souls Libertie, or make my Conſcience their Cap-

Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thank God no ſucceſſe, darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall leſſe conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyall Subjects, full of power.

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelf weakened while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclypſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light, what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions, not morоſely to denie, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me denie.

I ſhall never think my ſelf leſſe than my ſelf while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewel now left me, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelf.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battel, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud, to over-ſhadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe that by force have ſought to wreſt them from me.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces: let a good Conſcience alwaies accompany me in my ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my Soul, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my waies to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

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23 *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh; *and His Captivity at* Holmbie.

YEt may I Juſtifie thoſe Scots to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them further, than to men: if I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorry they ſhould do it; and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himſelf; who never faileth them that truſt in him; Though the *Reeds* of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the *Rock* of Iſrael will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my ſelf, which I loſe while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, give me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity, and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No reſtraint ſhall enſnare my Soul in ſin, nor gain

gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they got my Person into their power: since my Soul is still my own; nor shall they ever gain my consent against my conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me, not more a King, and far lesse both man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint, which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be my snare: nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soul: Better other betray me, than my self; and that the price of my liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me cannot be without my own consent.

While I can denie with reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions for their malice who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted, nor what to enquire more of me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy my self and mine.

Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of my Conscience, the Honour of my Crown, and the welfare of my People: which my Word may injure more than any War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Laws will, by Gods blessing revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects, if I buy them

them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carrieth not with it, his Souls, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldom.

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not; and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, than with them; happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruin of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever become of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with me, whose presence is better than life, and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty, which becometh a man, a Christian, and a King.

Blesse me still with reason, as a man; with Religion as a Christian; and with Constancy in justice as a King.

Though thou suffer'st me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self; and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion to any impatience, or sordid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and I shall neither want Safety, Libertie, nor Majestie.

Give me that measure of Patience and Constancie which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not thou far from me, left my enemies prevail too much against me.

I am become a wonder and a ſcorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me, may be aſhamed becauſe thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit that I may do, and ſuffer thy Will, as thou wouldſt have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soul truſteth in thee: yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge until theſe calamities be over-paſt.

Ariſe to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy Mercy, and my Saviours Merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadeſt me through the vale and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

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24 *Upon their denying His Majeſtie the Attendence of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive me of all other civil comforts and ſecular Attendents, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendence of ſome of my Chaplains; whom for their function I reverence and for their Fidelitie I have cauſe to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recoverie and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping, by their pious help, a ſpiritual harveſt of Grace amidſt the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed, or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious and ſoberly devout.

The Solitude, they have confined me unto, adds the Wilderneſſe to my temptations; For the companie they obtrude upon me, is more ſad than any Solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the Militia, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbaritie, than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactours; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercie of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But my Agonie must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly and discreet Divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envie my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive me of all things else They are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sense, Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the Attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the unchristiannesse of those Denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer mine own Divines before their Ministers: whom though I respect for that worth and pietie which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physicians; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these Calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or

mine

mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy Duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; which golden Rule, and bond of perfection conſiſts in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Some Remedies are worſe than the Diſeaſe, and ſome comforters more miſerable than miſeries themſelf. when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocencie, to deſpair of Gods mercie; and by juſtifying their Injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a Friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function, that I have hazarded mine own Intereſts, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancie to maintain their Rights; whom no more I looked upon as Orphans- and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my dutie the more to appear as a Father and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomely requited by ſome of them who may live to repent no leſſe for my ſufferings than their ungratefull Errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pitie all of them, I deſpiſe none; onely I thought I might have leave to make choiſe of ſome for ſpecial Attendents, who were beſt approved in my judgement, and moſt ſutable to my affection. For, I held it better to ſeem undevout and to hear no mens Prayers, than to be forced or ſeem to complie with thoſe Petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſſe nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravitie as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate of Gods Majeſtie, the Churches honour, and his own vileneſſe; both knowing what things God allows him to aſk, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercie for himſelf and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, and passionately, as either wanting humilitie to God, or charitie to men, or respect to the dutie.

I confesse. I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick Forms of Prayers, as are fitted to the Churches and every Christians daily and common necessities, because I am by them better assured, what I may joyn my heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary sufficiencie; which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just libertie and use in private and devout retirements; where neither the solemnitie of the dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactnesse as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites both in constant, and occasional, solitary and social Devotions.

So that I must need seem to all equal minds with as much reason to prefer the service of my own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwayes educated and exercised; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, not acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that as by any certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare composure and use; which is already as much despised and refused by many of them, as the Common-prayer sometimes was by those men: a great part of whose pietie hung upon that populular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Vae soli*, than to that of *Vae vobis Hipocritis*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Deniers sufficient of my self to discharge my Dutie to God as a Priest, though not to men as a Prince.

 Indeed

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better Presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Psalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching; whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, and the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorrie to find my self reduced to the neceſſitie of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Sovereignetie; would no lesse enforce me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become mine own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergie the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers, which I look upon as more prevalent than mine own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, and affection lesse distracted, than those, which are encombred with secular affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and

through

through his merits daily offers it self and its services to GOD, every private beliver is a King and Priest, invested with the Honour of a Royal Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiastical order, and the outward politie of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modest, and I think more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to my spiritual defects make me more prize and desire those pious assistance, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me, especially in these Extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny me, than this of having some means afforded me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and pieties, no lesse than for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine any exception to be made against them, but onely this, that they may seem too able, and too well affected toward me and my service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced me to serve my self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help mine Infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I

hope he will) I shall need no other, either Counsellour or Instructer.

TO thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now solitarie prayers; what I want of others help supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkenesse, and quicken my dulnesse.

O thou Sun of righteousnesse, thou sacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulnesse; From thee all sufficiencie: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough and comfort enough. Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest: Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of *Jacob* prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duel when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercie, whom thou didst once blesse with the joynt and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unitie of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happie opertunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a Coal scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers and incense of praise might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weakneſse of my prayers, nor the smoakiness

of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſſe deſire.

O let the hardneſſe of their hearts occaſion the ſoftenings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine ear to me; who art a God eaſie to be intreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand ſhortened, that it cannot help me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; But they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelf to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and acceppteſt of me.

Thou O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruſe fail the Widow during the time of drought of dearth.

O look on my ſoul which as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving truths I have formerly learned now fail my memorie, nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this time of ordinarie and wholeſome food for the nourishing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, than

teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproches of me, than to heartie prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their cordials oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From the poiſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyal and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperitie of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe, and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.

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25 Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KINGS ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my crie, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eies; nevertheleſſe thou hearеſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I crie unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? but there is mercie with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners flie unto thee.

I acknowledge my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminencie of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonal, and my Peoples ſins; which are ſo far mine, as I have not ſin-

improved the power thou gaveſt me to thy glorie, and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought me from the glorie and freedom of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far ſhort of *Davids* pietie; yet ſince I may equal *Davids* afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of *David*.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercie upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fierie trial conſume the droſſe which in long peace and plentie we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtil; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of mine and thy Churches enemies.

But let their crueltie never exceed the meaſure of my charitie.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glorie of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me a heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember me, and my Kingdoms; In continuing the light of thy Goſpel and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſmes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glorie of my Predeceſſours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy ſelf in pietie, to me in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charitie.

If thou wilt quench the flams, and withdraw the ſewel of theſe civil Wars.

If thou wilt bleſſe us with the freedom of publick Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolence of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience, and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines and ſpoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoul praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then ſhall thy glorie be dearer to me than my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religon both in puritie and power be my chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule my People with Juſtice, and my Kingdoms with equitie.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever own as the righteſull ſucceſſion, ſo the merciſull reſtauration of my Kingdoms, and the glorie of them.

If

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safetie and honour, to my chiefeſt Citie, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into my hand to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charitie, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Chriſts ſake thoſe that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injurie done to me.

We have been mutually puniſhed in our unnetural diviſions; for thy ſake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in my heart, That I will uſe all means in the wayes of *amneſty* and indempnitie which may moſt fully remove all fears, and burie all jealouſies in forgetfulneſſe.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of fained lips.

Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer, nor taken his mercie from me.

O my ſoul, commit thy way to the Lord, truſt in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſſe.

But if thou wilt not reſtore me and mine, what am I: that I ſhould charge thee fooliſhly?

Thou, O Lord, haſt given, and thou haſt taken, Bleſſed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happie, if not by me, yet without me.

26 *Upon the Armies Surprisal of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the Citie.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange Scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man who onely seeks to represent a part of honestie and Honour.

This surprize of me tels the World, That a KING cannot be so low, but he is considerable; adding weight to that Partie where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and sounds too like the furie of those zealots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that Citie.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison but

not my captive condition, onely with this
of bettering, that those who are so much
fessed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties,
not be utterly against the Libertie of their
NG; what they demand for their own
nsciences, they cannot in Reason denie to
e.

n this they seem more ingenious, than the
sbyterian rigour, who sometimes complain-
of exacting their conformitie to Laws, are
ome the greatest Exactours of other mens
mission to their novel injuctions, before
y are stamped with the Authoritie of Laws,
ich they cannot well have without my con-
t.

Tis a great argument, that the Independents
nk themselves manumitted from their Rivals
vice, in that they carrie on a businesse of such
nsequence, as the assuming my Person into the
ies custodie, without any Commission but that
their own will and power. Such as will thus
venture on a King must not be thought over-
dest, or timorous to carrie on any design they
ve a mind to.

Their next motion menaces and scares both the
o Houses and the Citie; which soon after
ing over again that former part of tumultuarie
otions, (never questioned, punished, or repent-
d) must now suffer for both; and see their for-
er sin in the glasse of the present terrours and di-
ractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the
nd of divine Justice; they that by Tumults
st occasioned the raising of Armies, must now
chastened by their own Armie for new Tu-
lts.

So hardly can men be content with one sin,
t adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the for-
er; such as were content to see me and many
embers of both Houses driven away by the
st unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to
to an Armie, or defend themselves against
em.

26 *Upon the Armies Surprisal of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the Citie.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange Scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man who onely seeks to represent a part of honestie and Honour.

This surprize of me tels the World, That a KING cannot be so low, but he is considerable; adding weight to that Partie where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and sounds too like the furie of those zealots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that Citie.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prisons but

but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Libertie of their KING; what they demand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon denie to mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenious, than the Preſbyterian rigour, who ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to Laws, are become the greateſt Exactours of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novel injuctions, before they are ſtamped with the Authoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without my conſent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice, in that they carrie on a buſineſſe of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming my Perſon into the armies cuſtodie, without any Commiſſion but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timorous to carrie on any deſign they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces and ſcares both the two Houſes and the Citie; which ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuarie motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Armie for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſin, but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee me and many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Armie, or defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some men justice? the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as my self was forced to do) from the rudenesse of the Tumults, were counted Desertours, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their places, carrie the Parliamentarie power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Armie: such as remained and kept their stations, are loked upon as Abettours of Tumultuarie insolencies and Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

This is power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rulers of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abettours of them are guiltie of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessarie Assistants.

I see vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the mice and rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germany) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, and with sorrow and pitie; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorrie to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthie such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had

had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to dispair of their Loyaltie to me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never beleeved malice had quit put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them, upon whom I look, as Christ did sometimes over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their dutie: fatal blindnesse frequently attending and punishing wilfulnesse, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder than to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those motions which go rather in a round and circle of fansie, than in a right line of reason, tending to the Law, the onely center of publick consistency, whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subjects to the known Laws than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and end in a refractry sullennesse: Peoples rebounds are ofe in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable as they act or according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indemnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publick peace that they should be satisfied, as far as is just, no man being more prone to consider them than my self; though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that vallour and gallantry

lantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain my ſelf, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a ſacred Trinitie, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver me from the ſtriving of my people, and make me to ſee how much they need praier, and pitie, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the waies of peace, from which they have ſwerved: which conſiſts not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due obſervation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and changes.

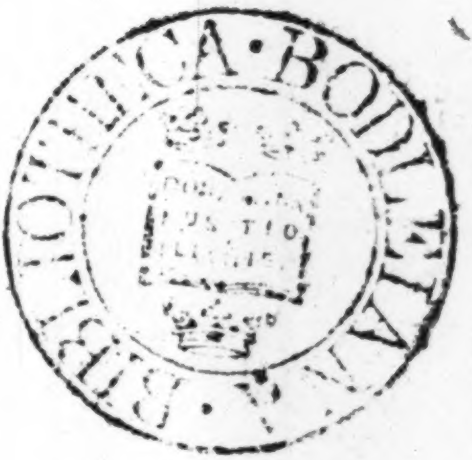
Make me even ſuch as thou wouldſt have me that I may at laſt enjoy that ſafety and tranquilitie which thou alone canſt give me.

Divert I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe plentie is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to ſecurity, and their ſecurity expoſing them to unexpected miſeries.

Give them eyes to ſee, hearts to conſider, will to embrace; and courage to act thoſe things which belong to thy glorie and the publick peace, leſt their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them that they cannot want enemies who abound in ſin, nor ſhall they be long undiſarmed and undeſtroied, who with a high hand perſiſting to fight againſt thee, and the clear conviction of their own conſciences, fight more againſt themſelves, than ever they did againſt me.

Their ſins expoſing them to thy Juſtice, their rebe-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Natus Mar. 29.° 1630

Ætatis suæ 19.

riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruin.

Let me not so much consider either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities, to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my sadest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my bloud be upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction of some, or the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou art my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercie, than of mans cruelitie or thy own justice.

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27. *To the Prince of Wals.*

SOn, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my conscience, and my most impartiall thoughts touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed, whereof, a pious is the best use can be made, and they may also give you some directions how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injurie of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy

of

of my self, and usefull to you; That neither you nor anie other, may hereafter measure my Cause by the Successe; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortuues; which I count the greater by far because they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as my self; and of whose unmerited suffering I have a greater sense then of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most Princes; that you have begun and now spend some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Virtues, both Moral and Political are commonly better planted to a thriving, (as trees set in winter) than in the warmth, and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honour; or to be contented onely with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*. The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom, the other softned by the unparal'd prosperitie of *Salomons* Court, and so corrupted to the great deminution both for Peace, Honour, & Kingdom by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as flies are from fruit in summer, whom adversity, like cold weather drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charls le Bon*, than *le Grand*, good then great; I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those over whom God shall place you.

With

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign disposer of the Kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereigntie you can attain to is, to be subject to him; that the Sceptre of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glorie of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glorie in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civil Power, with Justice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which Centre of true Happinesse God, I trust hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drunk, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; wel grounded and settled in your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated: yet I would have your own Judgement and Reason now set to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition, which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government. with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessarie for your souls than your Kingdoms peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion,

lion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; When some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for Peace and Patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that unless in this point you be well setled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretensions of reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where besides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion to be thought zealous, hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well setled; your partial adhering, as head, to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others; who think themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of Power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove; you may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice, or humanity, than from those, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their interest is alwayes made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may hear from

from them *Jacobs* voice, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſaus* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable than the Preſbyterian Faction in *England*; for many years; ſo compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church or State, as to mens judgements: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflammations) ſo did all at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (than) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Preſbytery their great Maſter: til time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages invited them to part ſtakes, and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Preſbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectual ſuppreſſing errours and Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a hand-breadth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done juſtice to God, your own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your proſperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Laws of thoſe Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the moſt excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property,

peace

peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties, which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shal by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety, to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruin.

Your prerogative is best shewed & exercised in remitting rather than exacting the rigor of the laws; there being nothing worse than legal Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproch of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own Conscience; Throublers of my Kingdoms having nothing else to object against me but this, That I prefer Religion and Lawes established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to my own Soul, the Church, and my People, and to you also, as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms. To

To which if the divine Providence to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after my decease bring you, as I hope he will; my counsel and charge to you, is, That you seriously consider the former, real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as no create in your self, or others, a diffidence of your own judgement which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartial to the interests of your Crown and Kingdom than any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by you, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutours, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep up solid piety, and those fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts & lives of men) with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equal eye, and impartial hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their real goodnesse both in abilities

lities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain you the hearts of the beſt, and the moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer wayes of vertue at any time ſweetened by temporall rewards.

I have, you ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformitie to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common enemie, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to me) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalrie, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, than againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſigns, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: As the wolf is not leſſe cruel, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better then a wolf under Sheps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicitie follow thoſe diſguiſes; my charge and counſel to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any deſigns (as other men) ſo you ſtudie really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe pietie and virtue, towards the people) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noſe and oſtentations of Religion, ſo you ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and maſk of goodneſſe) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your people; who cannot in reaſon, promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the virtuous conſtancie of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed Fsetions ſhall by the Sun-ſhine of Gods mercie, and the ſplen-

ſplendour of your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences, than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicatours of them, onely to uſurp power over them; Let then no paſſion betray you to any ſtudie of revenge upon thoſe whoſe own ſin and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoon as the forked arrow of Factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princely arts, and clemencie to heal the wound; that the ſmart of the cure may not equal the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws, and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecuritics.

I would have you alwayes propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired, and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policie and neceſſitie, but Chriſtian charitie and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to me, than any proſperitie can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done a miſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to me and you, than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their errours, and our injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to repentance, and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defect.

As your qualitie ſets you beyond any Duel with any Subject; ſo the nobleneſſe of Your mind

muſt

must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the miny.

The more conscious you shall be to your own merits, upon your People, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyaltie from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: you will have more inward complacencie in pardoning, one than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercie, and my Subjects affections towards you; both which I hope you will studie to deserve, yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercie.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you after me, to those injoyments, which the Laws have assigned to us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest us of: then may I have better opportunitie, when I shall be so happie to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glorie, your own Honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie (which the perfecting some mens designs require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me; I do require and intreat you as your Father, and your KING, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be best in the world; not onely in the Communitie, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchie.

Not but that, the draught being excellent as it

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the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetening or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who have been a Beginner, or an active Prosecuter of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer or Practiser of the Protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatening petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true piety, both of them are to be known by their fruits; the sweetnesse of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversation, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honor will never injure or diminish your greatnes, but wil rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments, after this more cautious to preserve that

Freedom, and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of Vulgar encrochment) since the publick interest consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publick consent; without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I nor you be ever restored to our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish my Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness: I hope God will give me and you that grace, which will teach and enable us to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or injoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety virtue, and honour; you shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of your honour wil consist in your preferring all respect, love, and protection to your Mother, my Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of me, & chiefly in this that (having been a means to blesse me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother I recommend to your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with me, and you.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (whatever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make you an Anchour, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by your wisdom, justice, pietie, and valour, of what, the folly and wickedness of some men have so far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergy, or the Commons either as to Lawes, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or lives.

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When they have deſtroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and crueltie of my enemies to proceed: and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my bloud will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generalty of the People, who have either deſerted me, or engaged againſt me through the artifice and hypocriſie of their leaders, whoſe inward horrour will be their firſt Tormentour, nor will they eſcape exemplary judgements.

For thoſe that loved me, I pray God, they may have no miſſe of me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope; that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of your preſence and virtues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their dutie toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King; ſo I believe you will find them truely Zealous, to repay with intereſt that loyaltie and love to you, which was due to me.

In ſum, what good I intended, do you perform; when God ſhall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maſk of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince my Reſtraint and cruel uſage, that they fought not for me, as was pretended) will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times I hope attend you, wherein your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King cannot be parted without both their ſin and their infelicitie.

I pray God bleſſe you, and eſtabliſh your Kingdoms in righteouſneſſe, Your Soul in true Religion, and your Honour in the love of God and your People.

And if God will have diſloyalty perfected by

my deſtruction; let my memorie ever, with my name, live in you; as of your Father that loves you: and once a King of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of my People, and my own Conſcience, which I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore me to my Rights. I cannot deſpair either of his mercie, or of my Peoples love and pitie.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before you to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

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28 *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and His Majeſties cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my death: for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which giveth me the ſpace; but mans crueltie, that giveth me the ſad Occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For beſides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies, and cruel paſſions, whoſe envie or enmitie againſt

againſt me makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my proſperitie made me not wholly a ſtranger to the contemplations of mortalitie:

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwayes uncertain: Death being an Eclipſe, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in me thoſe natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrours of it are diſpelled, and the ſpecial horrour of it as to my particular, much allayed: for although my death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp: ſince my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death againſt them; which as to the immaturitie, unjuſtice, ſhame, ſcorn, and cruelrie of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life, nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make me ſometime even deſire to die, if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partial and quotidian deaths which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us overlive our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, ſafety, or eſtate; and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a King, I think my ſelf to live in no-

thing temporall ſo much, as in the love and good-will of my People; for which as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithſtanding, my Enemies have uſed all the poyſon of falſity and violence of hoſtilitie to deſtroy, firſt the Love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed they have left me but little of life, and onely the huſk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all thoſe worldly comforts for which life it ſelf ſeems deſirable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valour it argues puſillanimitie to deſire to die out of wearineſſe of life; and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body, and which are leſſened or enlarged; as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher or lower: whoſe total abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Day of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampſons* Lyon but they yield much ſweetneſſe to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peevilhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, ſudden, and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectatours, my Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God

God hath taught me not to hope otherwiſe, as of mans cruelty; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercie.

I know my life is the object of the Devils and wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſal: whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die: but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for me to contend with thoſe many horrors of death, wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted, which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddennes of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greater formalities whereby my Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruel) will it may be, ſeek to adde (as thoſe did, who crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice ſo with leſſe pitie, it will be but a neceſſarie policy to make my death appear as an act of Juſtice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign, who know that no Law of God, or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without me, much leſſe againſt me: and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjury.

It is indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Sovereign: wherein thoſe who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding my blood, ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are moſt evidently guilty before God and man, and I believe in their own conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superious than this, the *Guilt of their un-*

juſt uſurpation, notwithſtanding those ſpecious and popular pretencions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vine-yard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlain.

With them, my greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy my ſelf with the Church and State by my Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of mine could ever yet ſatisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my Protectour, and my Advocate, who is my onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrones of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them, ſhal be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing me.

Their impatience to hear the loud cry of my bloud, ſhall make them think no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedding theirs, who with them, moſt thirſted after mine.

The ſad confuſions following my deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to me by thoſe that I have lived to ſee ſince my troubles;

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in which God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded my cauſe; not ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſin was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up death in the victory of his Reſurrection and the glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon and victory over my Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my bloud to them further than to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſouls from the guilt of ſhedding mine.

At preſent the will of my Enemies ſeems to be their onely Rule, their power the Meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactour, of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by my danger, and the ſecurity of their lives & deſigns by my Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſin are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to my death are embrued with my bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This, I think, becomes a Chriſtian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercie I believe, will more then infinitly recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glorie attending my death will far ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glorie; and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly Kingdom with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſarie tyrannie of my deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyrannie againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who do not onely pitie and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings as a man, and yet to retain and pay their dutie to me as their King; there being no religious neceſſitie binding any Subjects by pretending to punish, infinitly to exceed the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more and ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick; the injoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others I belive, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been ſo cruel as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people

people opening upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſe-uſed Authoritie: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſigns againſt me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in my peace, which I truſt is made with God; before whoſe ex & Tribunal I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between me and my cauſleſſe enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will confute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſſe of my Conſcience before God and toward my people will carrie me, as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that many times, thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperitie and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuſtiouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſign. The proſperous winds which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, doth not juſtifie their piracie and rapine.

I look upon it; with infinit more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the juſt Libertie of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, than if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſſe, overborn them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſigns they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more cheatfully take, and drink as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) than they can give it to me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt me.

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to ow more to my enemies, than my Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſins and ſorrows attending this miſerable life, wherewith theſe deſire, I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall be more than Conquerour through Chriſt enabling me; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered; as He is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace, for all which, I have been forced to contend againſt Errour, Faction, and Confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but Mortalitie Crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death which I ow for ſin to nature, ſhall be raiſed, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; and, although death be the wages of my own ſin, as from God, and the effect of other ſins, as men, both againſt God and me; yet, as I hope, my own ſins are ſo remitted, that they ſhall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guiltie of my deſtruction.

The Trophees of my charitie will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their ſin be proſperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: both which, I pray God they may obtain: that my temporal death unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods juſt inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſſe deprecable, than the eternal damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, than the ſave bringing of the

the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt me over-board; though it be very ſtrange, that Mariners can find no other means to appeaſe the ſtorm themſelves have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my enemies crueltie cannot prevent my preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroyed my Soul with my Body; of whoſe ſalvation, while ſome of them have themſelves ſeemed, and taught others to deſpair, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruel Reſtraints, denying me even the aſſiſtance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obſtructed my acceſſe to the Throne of Heaven:

WHere thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings, who filleſt Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of eternal life; in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou O God art both the juſt Afflicter of death upon us; and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our ſelves, and live in thee; than by living in our ſelves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King: the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpecial graces and comforts in my Soul, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I ſhall neither fear nor feel any evil: though I walk through the vally of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almightie and immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with me, as a man; make me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt me, yet thou haſt encouraged me to truſt in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not far from me for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſigns of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, not my will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wils be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my deſtroyers forget their dutie to thee and me; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciſull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Souls?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many that Crucified him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for my murtherers, louder than the crie of mine againſt them.

Prepare them for thy mercie by due convictions of their ſin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretenſions of

ju-

Juſtice in deſtroying me, while the conſcience of their unjuſt uſurpation of power againſt me chiefly tempts them to uſe all extremities againſt me.

O Lord, thou knoweſt I have found their mercies to me as very falſe, ſo very cruel; who pretending to preſerve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirſtie and deceitfull men; but overcome their crueltie with thy compaſſion and my charitie.

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for my bloud, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the bloud of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſſe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite mercie at laſt receive both me and my enemies:

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the ſame Redeemer, we ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortal enmities.

When their hands ſhall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miſerable moment, may be repaied in thy ever bleſſed Eternitie.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eies have ſeen thy Salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

Ω

HIS MAJESTIES PRAYERS in the time of his RESTRAINT.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

O Powerfull and Eternal God! to whom nothing is so great, that it may resist, or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My Miserie with Thine eye of Mercie, and let Thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjust enemies the ministers of Thy Justice: But yet My God, if in Thy wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for My unexcusable transgressions, if this ingratefull bondage be fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto Thy will and cheerfully embrace what sorrow Thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of Thee, (Let My graving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from Thee) that by Thy goodnesse which is Thy self, Thou wilt suffer some beam of Thy Majestie so to shine in My mind that I, who acknowledge it My Noblest Title to be Thy Creature, may still depend confidently on Thee in My greatest Afflictions. Let Calamitie be the exercise but not the overthrow

overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My destrucion. And if it be Thy will that they more and more vex Me with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſſe have ſuch a hand but that I may ſtill carrie a pure mind, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerve Thee, without fear or preſumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſe Thee; ſo that at the laſt I may come to Thy eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confeſſion made in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmightie and moſt mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodneſſe that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of Thy accepting, or granting them; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſary dutie to confeſſe our ſins freely unto Thee; and of all men living I have moſt need, moſt reaſon, ſo to do, no man having been ſo much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which Thou haſt given Me, adding likewiſe to the guilt of My tranſgreſſions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent bloud, to be ſhed by a falſe pretended way of Juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worſhip, to be ſet up in *Scotland*? and injured the Biſhops in *England*? O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſſe, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdom, forſaking the Dictates of a right-enformed Conſcience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty: Grant therefore mercifull Father, ſo to ſtrenthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou maieſt clear the way for Thine own mercies, to which O let Thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy end to My deſerved afflictions. In the mean time, give Me Patience

tience to endure, Conſtancy againſt Temptations, and a diſcerning ſpirit, to chooſe what is beſt for thy Church and People which thou haſt committed to My Charge. Grant this, O moſt mercifull Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Moſt mercifull Father, though My ſins are ſo many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger; yet, O Lord, ſince Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfeined repentance come to Thee for ſuccour, it were to multiply, not diminiſh My tranſgreſſions to deſpair of Thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire Thy Divine Majeſtie, that Thou wilt not onely Pardon all My ſins, but alſo free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath againſt My hainous Offenſes will not otherwaies be ſatisfied, than by ſuffering Me to fall under My preſent afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunitie, I do and ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My cauſe, as I am Thy Vicegerent may not ſuffer through My weakneſſe, or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudie Trial, that ſo My ſufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewiſe be a furtherance to My ſalvation hereafter. Grant this O mercifull Father, for his ſake who ſuffered for Me, even Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous. *Amen.*

FINIS.

His

His MAJESTIES Reasons *against the pretended Jurisdiction of the* High Court of Justice, *which he intended to deliver in writing on Monday* Januarie 22. *Anno Dom* 1648.

HAving already made my Protestations not onely against the Illegalitie of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the dutie I ow to God, in the preservation of the true libertie of my People, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: For how can any Free-born Subject of *England* call Life or any thing he possesseth his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds which hinder me to Answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*, for I will not (like you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.

* *Hereabout, I was stopt and not suffered to speak any more concerning Reasons.*

* There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws or the municipal Laws of the Countrie where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law: For on the contrarie the Authoritie of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am readie instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the word of a King is there is Power; and who may saie unto him, what doest thou?* Eccles. 8.4. Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no less confident

confident, that no Learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie againſt the *King*, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is *That the King can do no wrong*. Beſides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, muſt either be old, or new; if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what authoritie warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it ſelf (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge: And it were full as ſtrange, that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without K I N G or Lords Houſe, to anie that have heard ſpeak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *Englands* Commiſſion could grant your pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Plough-man, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent at leaſt of the major part of everie man in *England*, of whatſoever qualitie or condition, which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek, ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for My own right alone, as I am your KING; but alſo for the true Libertie of all My Subjects which conſiſts not in ſharing the power of Government, but in living under ſuch Laws, ſuch a Government as may give themſevs the beſt aſſurance of their lives and proprietie of their goods. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this daie proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt breach of their Publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houſes: for all the pretended Crimes laid againſt Mee, bear date long before this late Treatie at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Mee lay,

ſy, and hopefully expecting the two Houſes agreement thereunto, I was ſuddenly ſurprized, and hurried from thence as a Priſoner, upon which account I am againſt My will brought hither, where ſince I am come I cannot but to My power defend the antient Laws and liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own juſt Right; then for anie thing I can ſee the higher Houſe is totally excluded.

And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are deteined or deterred from ſitting, ſo as if I had no other, this were ſufficient for Me to proteſt againſt the lawfulneſſe of your pretended Court. Beſides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the leaſt in My thoughts, and what hopes of ſettlement is there ſo long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flouriſhed for many hundred years (nor will I ſay what will fall out in caſe this lawleſſe unjuſt proceedings againſt Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happie they have been of late years under the Reign of Q. *Eliſabeth*, the KING My Father, and My ſelf, untill the beginning of theſe unhappie Troubles, and will have cauſe to doubt that they ſhall never be ſo happie under any new. And by this time it will be too ſenſibly evident that the Arms I took up were only to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom againſt thoſe who have ſuppoſed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having ſhewed you briefly the Reaſons, why I cannot ſubmit to your pretended Authoritie without violating the truſt which I have from God, for the welfare and libertie of My People; I expect from you either clear *Reaſons* to convince My judgement, ſhewing Me that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will readily Anſwer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to ſpeak in* Weſtminſter-hall on Mundaie, 22. Januarie; *but againſt Reaſon was hindred to ſhew My Reaſon.* Mun-

A true Relation of the Kings *Speech to the Ladie* Elisabeth *and the Duke of* Glocester; *the day before His Death.*

HIs Children being come to meet him, he first gave his blessing to the Lady *Elisabeth*; and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more looke upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another and forgive their Fathers enemies. Then said the *King* to her, Sweet heart you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very stedfastly on him.) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers *Charls* and *James* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore, I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child, sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the *King* rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeths *own Hand.*

WHat the King said to me the nine and twentieth of *January* 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him; He told me, He was glad I was come, and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to saie to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because He feared their Cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment

my

my ſelf for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this land and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons. *Hookers Eccleſiaſtical Politie* and Biſhop *Lauds* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters to forgive them: He bid me tell my Mother: that His thoughts had never ſtraied from Her, and that His Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me ſend his Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Sifters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given me His Bleſſing I took my leave.

Further He commanded Us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had been moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and He feared alſo to their own ſouls: And deſired me not to grieve for Him, for he ſhould die a Martyr. And that He doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son and that We ſhould be all happier, than We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

Another Relation from the Lady Eliſabeth.

THe KING ſaid to the Duke of *Glocester*, that He would ſay nothing to him but what was for the good of his ſoul: He told him, that He heard that the Army intended to make him King, but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

A

A Copie of a Letter which was ſent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the HAGUE *Jan.* 23. *Anno Dom.* 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majeſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have ſent this bearer [Seamour] to wait upon your Majeſtie; and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall aſſure your Majeſtie, I do not onely pray for your Majeſtie according to my Dutie; but ſhall alwayes be ready to do all which ſhall be in my power to deſerve that bleſſing which I now humbly beg of your Majeſtie upon

SIR,

Your *Majeſties*

Hague
Jan. 23.
1648

moſt humble and moſt
obedient Son and
Servant *Charls.*

The Superſcription was thus,

For the KING.

Mr. Rich. Ferd. Cox - Oxford